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THE COMING KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

THE kingdom of Christ is the Catholic Church. The kingdom of Antichrist is the kingdom of his great enemy, Satan, represented by his emissaries and servants, warring against the ministers and servants of Christ. In a special and particular sense the Antichrist is the chief one among these ministers of Satan, and his kingdom is the organized earthly power founded in opposition to the Catholic Church, and waging war against it under the headship of this rival and enemy of Christ, who seeks to usurp the dignity and dominion of the true Christ, and is therefore called the *Anti*christ.

The kingdom of Christ has already come and has endured for nearly two thousand years. Therefore, we can only speak of it as yet to come, in the sense of a wider extension and universality and an increase in the intensity of its action upon mankind. It is the more general and common opinion of interpreters of the prophecies that the great Antichrist and his kingdom are yet to come. Many are disposed to think that his coming is near at hand, and that the way is being prepared for him by a wide and increasing anti-christian movement of all the evil elements and forces, intellectual, moral and social, within and without nominal Christendom. Those who take this dark and forboding view of the future of Christianity and the Catholic Church look back on their past history as the fulfilment of the principal promises and prophecies of Holy Scripture respecting the reign of Christ in the Church on the earth. The period of prosperity and glory is supposed to have begun with the reign of Constantine, and to have lasted a thousand years, after which a decline set in, and the Church entered on a new warfare with the evil powers, which are

at present threatening to gain the upper hand and to culminate in the disastrous epoch of the Antichrist.

Of course, if this be the true view of the progress of events, the kingdom of Christ cannot be said to be coming, that is, advancing on a steady line of progress toward a development which shall surpass anything in its past history. On the contrary, the kingdom of Christ must be said to be going, receding before the advancing kingdom of Antichrist. The triumph of Christ and the Catholic Church can only be looked for, in the final *coup d'etat*, when the Lord will come to judge the world and consummate his kingdom in the heavens. Such an event is above the historical plane, and is not in the line of progressive development from the beginnings of the kingdom of Christ on the earth through successive stages to the final fulfilment by a complete explication of all that is virtually contained in the Church in its original constitution as one, holy, catholic and apostolic.

It is not, however, absolutely certain that Antichrist is still to come, and that the course of time is preparing the way for him. If his kingdom has come and reached its acme, already, and is now passing away, it is possible to regard the course of events in the present age as a preparation for the coming kingdom of Christ. The question as to which of the two kingdoms is waning, and which is waxing, is most momentous and interesting.

Evidently, if we can reasonably hope that the kingdom of Antichrist is passing away, and the kingdom of Christ drawing near, the prospect is bright and encouraging, and a strong stimulus is given to all efforts for the propagation of the faith and the promotion of the sacred cause of the Catholic Church.

We wish to present some arguments in favor of this hopeful view. But we do not intend to advocate the cause of those who imagine that a millenium is at hand, during which Christ will reign personally on the earth, or to predict the coming of an ideal state, in which the members of the Church will be all saints, and the world be changed into a kind of paradise. The kingdom of Christ has come in all places and times in which the Catholic Church has been planted and has flourished. When it is planted and flourishes everywhere in the world, its virtual catholicity will become actual, and its development will be complete, the reign of Christ will become universal.

This is all that we contend for as the coming kingdom of Christ. It is only an outline sketch, which any one who is able and disposed to do so, may fill in with pictures in detail, drawing to any extent possible on his imagination. The outline embraces the reconciliation of Eastern schismatics and Western Protestants to the Catholic Church; the conversion of the Jews; the downfall of

Mohammedanism and the conversion of its deluded votaries; and the conversion of the heathen nations. One religion and one church, the only and the dominant religion, throughout the world. Is it an extravagant supposition, that Christ, through the Catholic Church, may, in a not very distant future, extend his reign in the world, and bring about a result which approximates to a conversion of all nations to Christianity absolutely universal?

If we look at the prospects of accomplishing these great results by the efficiency of the efforts actually made at the present time, and according to the appearance of things within and without the sphere of Christianity, we cannot see any clear evidence that the Catholic Church is likely to achieve any great and universal victory over the hostile powers arrayed against her. The conversion of England, of Russia, of the Jewish people, of the Mohammedans of India, Asia and Africa, looks like an impossibility. The most that has been done, during the present and the foregoing centuries, since Christianity reached its present limits, has been the conversion of some few millions out of the thousand million of non-Christian inhabitants of the globe. The gain of the Catholic Church from non-Catholic sects has been, up to this time, relatively small, and the loss, from the lapse of baptized children of the Church into practical, or even formal and avowed, unbelief, has been considerable. A dark and discouraging view of the condition and prospects of Catholic and Christian peoples, and of all the rest of mankind, can easily be made to appear plausible. And, of course, to those who take this view, any hope of a great religious amelioration of the state of the world, at large, unless it be after the lapse of long ages, or unless a second advent of Christ be expected, must seem to be visionary.

Yet if we look back on past epochs in history, we find that several times, the outlook seemed far more hopeless, shortly before the dawn of a brighter day. In the time of Antiochus, before the Maccabees arose to contend against the oppressors of Judah and Jerusalem, the fortunes of the Church and the religion of God seemed to be desperate. On Good Friday, the hope of redemption through Christ seemed to be extinguished in His death. When the apostles were sent forth, when Herod Agrippa laid violent hands on the Church in Jerusalem, when Nero broke out into raging persecution, when Peter was crucified and Paul beheaded, when the Roman imperial monsters slaughtered Christians by the million, when Diocletian thought to have destroyed Christianity,—the reign of Constantine and the conversion of the Roman Empire, if foretold by some Christian seer of enthusiastic faith, would have seemed to the majority of Christians as the baseless fabric of a vision, and would have been scouted with derision by heathen

philosophers. During the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the triumph of the Church over heresy and barbarism seemed very improbable. St. Jerome, and many other enlightened and devout men, thought that the end of the world was near. Things looked dark in the tenth century, in the sixteenth, in the eighteenth, and in the nineteenth, when Pius IX. was despoiled of his royalty by the base traitor and usurper Victor Emanuel. They do not look nearly so dark now; and although some forebode great coming disasters, yet black clouds at evening do not hinder the dawning of a bright day on the morrow.

The place for a devout Jew to look, in order to find reasons for confidence and hope, was in the writings of the prophets. The source of hope and confidence for the early Christians was in the predictions and promises of Christ. For all Christians down to our own day, the intentions and promises of our Lord Jesus Christ, as made known through the Holy Scriptures, especially in the prophecies, furnish the ground and rule of our belief and hope in regard to His kingdom on the earth.

These prophecies are chiefly contained in the Apocalypse. There is a very general sentiment that this is a sealed book, and that whoever ventures on any explanation of its mysteries, will meet the fate of a rash explorer who wanders into the labyrinth of the catacombs without a guide or a clue. It certainly becomes an inquirer into these sublime and obscure revelations of St. John, to be very modest and very cautious in proposing his own private views or conjectures. Yet, where the most learned and wise interpreters are his guides, it does not seem altogether rash, and may not be entirely useless, to seek for some light on the future destinies of the Church from these and other prophecies of the Holy Scripture. For what purpose have they been given? What is their utility? Some of them are in themselves to a certain extent clearly intelligible. Others have the key and the interpretation which unlocks their emblematic sense given in the sacred context itself, as in the visions recorded in the Book of Daniel. In the beginning of the Apocalypse, the whole book is entitled, "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to Him to *make known to His servants*, the things which must shortly come to pass . . . . Blessed is he who *readeth* and *heareth* the words of this prophecy."

Our immediate object of inquiry is the question whether Antichrist has come already, or is yet to come.

The decision of this question depends in great measure on the answer to a more general question, viz., whether the greater portion of the prophecy relates to events of the past eighteen centuries, or still remains to be fulfilled in the future. It is obvious that we should take our departure in investigating obscure and

disputed portions of prophecy from those portions which are clear and interpreted by constant tradition and a general consent of fathers and doctors.

The grand prophetic outline of the universal history of the world, during the past twenty-five centuries and until the final consummation, includes four great empires, the Assyrian, Medo-Persian, Grecian and Roman, and a fifth monarchy, which is the Kingdom of Christ. The prophecies of St. John relate to the times of the last of the four earthly universal empires and the period succeeding its downfall, and the division of its territory; and have chiefly respect to the fifth monarchy, the Catholic Church founded by Jesus Christ. No one doubts that the book sealed with seven seals shown to St. John contained the complete history of events occurring in the great conflict between Satan and Christ during the period elapsing between his first and second coming. It cannot be supposed that the momentous series of events in historical Christianity between the reigns of Clement I. and Leo XIII., did not fill up a large portion of this mysterious volume.

Bossuet has given an interpretation of the first twenty chapters of the Apocalypse, which presents the epitome of historical events during the centuries which have elapsed since the Christian era began, as the commentary which explains the mystic figures and symbols of the book sealed with seven seals, opened one after the other by Jesus Christ, the Lion of the tribe of Judah. It would be very interesting to give a summary of this commentary of Bossuet, but our space will not permit this to be done. Suffice it to say that he explains the fall of Babylon to denote the downfall of the Roman empire, and the millenium to signify the whole period of historical Christianity.

Before endeavoring to find the place of Antichrist in history, let us consider what manner of personage he is represented to be by a certain number of learned and eminent expositors of the prophecies, who look on him as an adversary who is yet to come.

The idea which these writers have formed of Antichrist is, in brief, that of a man who is, as far as their imagination has been able to frame such a monstrous conception, an Incarnate Satan. A base-born, obscure individual, of whom Satan has taken full possession from an early period of his life, he becomes first a petty prince, at the same time pretending to be a prophet and a wonder-worker, and by successive, rapid strides of imposture and conquest, a mighty monarch in the East, and at last, the universal despot of all mankind, over whom he reigns as temporal and spiritual monarch, having his seat in Jerusalem and its magnificently rebuilded temple. He suppresses all open and public exer-

cise of the Christian religion, and of all other religions, and causes divine worship to be paid to himself, as the Messiah and Vicegerent of God on the earth. His reign continues, after his final conquest of the whole earth, for the space of three years and a half, after which the Lord, with his angels and saints, suddenly and visibly descends from heaven, destroys him and his chief followers, overthrows his kingdom, and, after a short interval allowed to the great mass of his former subjects that they may repent and embrace the true faith, celebrates the grand closing ceremony of the Last Judgment, and consummates his own eternal kingdom in the heavens.

It requires a great deal of credulity to believe that such a series of revolutions and conquests could be effected within a single generation. It is morally and physically impossible that an impostor like this supposed Antichrist should run such a career, so long as Russia, Germany, France, England and America remain in their present state, or continue on the actual lines of historical development. The prophetic descriptions of the great empires in the Book of Daniel, when translated into history, become something very different from the superhuman and preternatural aspect which they present in the visions of the seer. All things have gone on in the world, heretofore, according to a natural and human mode, under the operation of natural laws. The action of God, and of superhuman powers, both good and evil, has been mostly secret and hidden; the breaking in of the supernatural upon the course of events in a manifest and striking manner has been rare and seldom There is no conclusive reason for supposing that the order of divine providence will not remain essentially the same to the end. Now, the sudden appearance and domination of Antichrist as delineated above, is an unprecedented and unparalleled irruption of the infernal world into the domain of human history, followed by a still more extraordinary descent of the celestial powers upon the earth, which breaks all regular order and progress of the acts and scenes of the human drama, depriving it of its unity and continuity of plan.

Moreover, all the mightiest and most disastrous outbreaks of evil powers in the past are regarded only as types and precursors of this dreadful coming of Antichrist. Reflect upon the wars of Vespasian and Adrian against Judea and the Jews; the invasions of the Roman empire by the Huns and Goths; the devastations of Genghis Khan and Timour; the ruin in Christendom effected by the Mohammedan Saracens and Turks; the disasters inflicted on the Catholic Church by heresy; and the ten bloody persecutions of the heathen Roman emperors—and then try to imagine a scene of horror and misery on the whole surface of the earth, of

which all these are only the preludes and adumbrations. All this compressed into the lifetime of one man, who has kindled this universal conflagration, backed by Satan and all the hosts of the infernal regions.

To make all this credible, it is necessary that it should be clearly revealed, so that the interpretation of the prophecies on which this view is founded shall show itself, by intrinsic evidence, to be morally certain, or to have the sanction of Catholic authority in such a degree as to command our assent. Such, however, is not the case. The fabric has been constructed from speculations, conjectures and creations of the imagination, erected upon the foundation of certain texts of Scripture and certain traditions. All the authority it can claim is human. We are perfectly free to discard it as incredible. And, if we can find another interpretation of the prophecies concerning Antichrist, which is more probable, and is in harmony with the ordinary course of history, it is both permissible and rational to give it the preference.

There are some prophecies in the New Testament concerning Antichrist which are expressed in plain language, quite different from the figurative style of the Apocalypse. These are the best and most luminous interpretation we can have of other prophecies which are obscure. One of these is contained in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.

"Now, we ask you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together under Him, that ye be not soon moved from your understanding, nor terrified, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as sent from us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for unless *the apostacy first take place, and the man of sin, the son of perdition, be revealed, who opposeth, and who is lifted up above all that is called God, or is worshiped, so as to sit in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God.* Remember ye not, that when I was with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in his own time. For, the mystery of iniquity already worketh, only that he who now holdeth, hold till he be taken out of the way. And then, that wicked one shall be revealed whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the breath of His mouth, and shall destroy by the manifestation of His presence: whose coming is according to the working of Satan with all power, and false signs, and prodigies, and in all deceit of iniquity to those who perish: because they received not the love of truth, that they might be saved".[1]

St. Paul insinuates, in this passage, that the temporary obstacle to the revelation of Antichrist, who is here designated by the title

[1] C. ii., 1–10.

of the man of sin, according to the teaching of the Fathers, will be removed before a very long time has elapsed. The Fathers say, also, that the power obscurely designated as "he who holdeth," was the Roman empire. The downfall of the empire would, therefore, be speedily followed by the appearance of Antichrist. And this could not be distinctly expressed, because of the increased fury which such an announcement would awaken against the Christians.

St. John, in his Second Epistle, speaks in some respects even more distinctly than St. Paul of the character and near approach of Antichrist.

"Little children, it is the *last hour;* and as ye have heard that the Antichrist cometh, there are even now many Antichrists; whence we know that it is the last hour. . . . . Who is the liar, but he that denieth that *Jesus* is the *Christ? This is the Antichrist, who denieth the Father and the Son.* Every one who denieth the Son hath not the Father, he who confesseth the Son hath the Father also. . . . . In this is the spirit of God known: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God, and every spirit that divideth Jesus is not of God, and *this is Antichrist*, of whom ye have heard that he cometh, and now *he is already in the world.*"[1]

Comparing these passages from St. Paul and St. John with each other, we obtain several very clear ideas concerning Antichrist and his place in history. St. John declares that the last hour of the world had already arrived. That is to say, its last great epoch had commenced, the final chapter of its history, the series of events which was to proceed with an unbroken continuity to the consummation of all things by the second coming of the Lord. Furthermore, that the preparation for the coming of Antichrist, the most formidable enemy of Christianity, had begun, as coeval with the beginnings of the great work of Christ in the Catholic Church.

This corroborates and confirms the statement of St. Paul, that the manifestation of Antichrist was only held back by some great power, whose downfall was approaching. When this obstacle was removed, an apostacy, a tremendous enterprise of the power of evil, to overthrow Christianity and to establish in its place a rival Antichristian kingdom, would be inaugurated and obtain great power in the world.

The Antichristian principles already working, were those heresies which corrupted and denied the true doctrine of the Incarnation. The formal, essential falsehood of the Antichristian system would be the denial of the Blessed Trinity, the One True God of the Catholic faith; the substitution of another God in his

[1] Ch. ii., 18–23; iv., 2, 3.

place, the denial of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and the proclamation of an *Antichrist*, claiming to supersede him, to usurp his authority, to establish a new and more perfect religion on the ruins of Christianity, a religion, however, essentially immoral, false and impious, having for its author the great adversary of God and man, and for its prophet an impostor. This rival, Antichristian kingdom, having its beginnings in the very first age of Christianity, must necessarily be developed simultaneously with its growth and extension, be coeval with the period of its greatest power and magnitude, confront it in a terrible warfare as its chief and last enemy, and be overthrown in its final triumph, when Christ shall conquer by putting all enemies under his feet, and deliver up his kingdom to the Father.

St. John, in the Apocalypse, declares that it was the revelation of "the things which must *shortly* come to pass;" and again that "the time is at hand." That is, his predictions will begin to be accomplished immediately, and have a continuous fulfillment through the coming ages, which are "the last hour" of the world, before the dawn of the Day of Eternity.

It is reasonable, therefore, to endeavor to find in the mystic emblems of the Apocalypse, the foreshadowing of the course of events through the second and the succeeding centuries of Christian history, as Bossuet has done. And if we find in those centuries any historical facts corresponding to the predictions of the coming of Antichrist, we may conclude that these facts are the true interpretation of the prophecies.

The epoch in which we are to expect to find the manifestation of Antichrist is the one closely following the downfall of the Roman Empire. In A.D., 476, the Western Empire came to its end, and a little more than 100 years from that time, A.D., 612, Mohammed began the publication of the Koran. When the first seal of the mystical volume of the Apocalypse was opened, St. John saw "a white horse; and He who sat thereon had a bow, and a crown was given Him, and He went forth, conquering, that He might conquer."[1]

Without any doubt, this is Jesus Christ, going forth to conquer the world through the Gospel and the Catholic Church.

When the second, third and fourth seals were opened, St. John saw three other horses with their riders, evidently representing three hostile forces going forth to contend against Christ and His Church. The first of these three antagonists was mounted on a red horse and is interpreted by the best expositors, to represent the bloody persecutions of the heathen Roman emperors. The second, mounted on a black horse, is interpreted of the heresies

[1] Ch. vi., 2.

which arose after the first great conflict with heathenism was over. The third enemy, riding a pale horse, is interpreted of Mohammedanism. This being the last, it is reasonable to conclude, that when the rider on the white horse has conquered this enemy, the last great conflict is over, and the final decisive victory has been gained.

If we find the specific and distinctive marks of Antichrist in Mohammed, and in the history of Mohammedanism a clear and positive counterpart of the prophecies concerning the Antichristian kingdom, it is a just conclusion that they should be identified with each other; and that we have found the true solution of the "mystery of iniquity."

Mohammed denied all relation of paternity and filiation in the Godhead, the divine nature and Sonship of Jesus Christ, his supremacy and dominion, the entire religion which he founded,—and claimed superiority for himself over Jesus, over all prophets and messengers of God in past times, over all angels and created beings. He pretended to be a lawgiver and a founder of the final, universal religion and kingdom of God in the world; to teach and govern in the name of God, with plenary and absolute divine authority. It is needless to remind those who have read history, of the extensive and disastrous conquests of Mohammedanism in Christendom, and of the imminent danger which threatened Europe of the total extinction of the Christian religion and civilization.

The coming of Antichrist is believed by Catholic expositors of high authority to be foretold by the prophet Daniel, under the figure of a little horn on the head of the Grecian beast, and also by St. John, under the figure of a little horn on the head of the Roman beast. The two figures can be referred to the same object, if we regard the Antichristian kingdom as arising within the bounds of the Roman Empire, and in that part of it which was formerly subject to the dominion of Alexander. Daniel assigns to this kingdom of Antichrist a period of three years and a half, as also does St. John; Daniel adds to the three years and a half, a supplementary month of thirty days, and again he speaks of another forty-five days to follow, and subjoins: "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh unto a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days."[1]

There is good reason to believe that in this reckoning, a day stands for a year. That is, the duration of the reign of Antichrist is 1260 prophetic years in which a year consists of 360 days. The beginning of this period may be, and usually has been regarded as the year of the Hegira, A.D., 622, which would place its close at A.D., 1865. But it may be reckoned as the year of

[1] Dan. xii., 12.

the capture of Jerusalem and the setting up of the "abomination of desolation" in the Holy Place, by the erection of the Mosque of Omar on the site of the temple. In this case, the period of Antichrist closes in the year 1879; the additional thirty years, which seem to denote the time of the completion of the destruction of the Antichristian kingdom, bring us to 1909, and the 1335 years are completed in A.D., 1954.

If, however, the years are reckoned as natural years of 365 days, the period of 1260 years will end either in 1882, or 1896, the period of 1290 years in 1912 or 1926, and the period of 1335 years in 1957 or 1971. There is another period given in the Book of Daniel, of 2300 years, or according to another reading, of 2200 years, which terminates at the great event called "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary." It is not certain at what date this period begins. If, as seems probable, it begins with the reign of Alexander, its close will fall somewhere within the twentieth century.

There is always a designed obscurity about these Chronological prophecies. God does not intend that men should be able to know with precise accuracy the times and seasons of future events. So much as this is clear, however, that the period of Mohammedanism is less than fourteen centuries from the seventh century, and that when it has passed away, will come a great triumph of the kingdom of Christ.

The certainty of this future triumph, must not, however, be made to depend absolutely upon the identification of Mohammed with Antichrist. This certainty stands firm upon its own separate and independent basis. Many of those who regard Antichrist as yet to come, expect a triumph of the Church before his appearance. All believe in the conversion of the Jews and of the great mass of mankind, between the downfall of Antichrist and the end of the world.

If, however, the whole trend of events in the world is now preparing for Antichrist, a preceding triumph of the Church can only be partial and of short duration. A triumph following his destruction is cut off from continuity with the historical development, progress and extension of Christianity in the world. It has a wholly supernatural and miraculous character and aspect. The conviction that Mohammed is Antichrist, and that therefore his kingdom is rapidly passing away into extinction, drives away the dreadful spectre of an infernal invasion of the Kingdom of Christ which intervenes between past and present history and the latter age of the world. We are free to look forward to an extension and triumph of Christianity going on, continuously from the present, in lines of historical, intellectual, moral and social develop-

ment, by a progressive movement, toward a result which will be, in the future, the outcome of the past. It is not that miracles will be wanting, and that even some stupendous miracles will not be necessary for the conversion of Jews and Pagans. But these supernatural interventions will not over-ride and thrust out of the way the ordinary course of divine providence.

It is time, now, to consider the reasons for a certain expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of Christ in the world.

Those who are familiar with the Scriptures are aware that they are throughout full of the idea that the world belongs to God, is under His merciful providence, and is destined to become His Kingdom. Jesus Christ has redeemed all mankind, and has established His Church as a universal world-religion, a *Catholic* Church. The commission he gave to His Apostles was universal, for the whole world, and for all time. He declared that the time would come, when there should be "One Flock and One Shepherd." St. Paul writes to the Corinthians,[1] "He must reign until He put *all enemies under His feet.* And the enemy death shall be destroyed last; for He hath put all things under His feet. And whereas he (the Psalmist) saith: all things are put under Him, undoubtedly, He is excepted who put all things under Him. And when all things shall have been subjected to Him, then also the Son Himself will be subject to Him who subjected all things to Him, that God may be all in all."

The Apostle most clearly teaches that Christ has received as man, a mediatorial temporal kingdom as Head of the Church, which is distinct from His divine sovereignty. In this capacity, He goes forth, conquering that He may conquer; subduing, one after the other, every hostile power until the time of the general resurrection, when the present order of providence shall pass away, and the eternal order of the universe shall be consummated.

In Nabuchadonosor's vision of the statue with a golden head and feet of iron and clay, he saw a small stone roll from the mountain and strike the feet of the statue, which fell down, was pulverized, and its dust blown away. "But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."[2] The prophet explained to the king what this figure signified: "In the days of these kingdoms, the God of Heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be be delivered up to another people; and it shall break in pieces and shall consume all these kingdoms; and itself shall stand forever."[3]

The word and promise of God are sufficient to give us a firm

[1] Cor. xv., 25–28. [2] Daniel ii., 35. [3] *Ibid.*, 44.

faith that the conversion of the world will be accomplished, however difficult or even impossible it may appear to us.

As for the conversion of the millions of nominal Christians, in the West and the East, who are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, although it certainly does appear difficult, yet it cannot be truly said to appear impossible, or even altogether improbable.

There is no need to waste time in proving that Protestantism is surely and rapidly declining, and is already in a moribund condition. This is loudly proclaimed, sometimes with lamentation, at other times with exultation, by Protestants and by unbelievers. As the sects break up and founder, their members must either be reabsorbed into the Catholic Church, or be swept into infidelity. The conversions of the last half century are numbered by thousands. It is not so much their number as their quality which is significant. There is every reason to expect that they will be very much increased during the next half century. There are intelligent non-Catholics who openly proclaim their conviction that the Catholic religion will become dominant in the United States. Why not, then, in England, Germany and Scandinavia?

As for the Eastern schismatics much might be said of hopeful prospects for their reconciliation, especially when the curse of Turkish tyranny and Mohammedan superstition has been removed. We cannot linger on this part of the question, but must turn to another more serious and difficult topic, the conversion of the Jews.

There is nothing more explicitly and distinctly foretold in Holy Scripture than the ultimate conversion to Christ of the Jewish people.

Their own prophets are full of predictions of the restoration of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation. It may not be possible to determine how far the most of these prophecies have a literal sense, or one which is figurative of the triumph of the Catholic Church.

Some prophecies are, however, so clear as to admit only of a literal interpretation.

In the Second Book of Maccabees there is an account taken from a lost book called "The Descriptions of the Prophet Jeremias," of the following most remarkable occurrence:

"It was also contained in the same writing, how the prophet, being warned by God, commanded that the tabernacle and the ark should accompany him, till he came forth to the mountain where Moses went up, and saw the inheritance of God. And when Jeremias came thither, he found a hollow cave, and he carried in thither the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door. Then some of those who followed him

came up to mark the place, but they could not find it. And when Jeremias perceived it, he blamed them, saying: The place shall be unknown *till God gather together the congregation of the people, and receive them to mercy. And then the Lord will show these things, and the majesty of the Lord will appear; and there shall be a cloud as it was also showed to Moses.*" [1]

The Prophet Malachi foretold, speaking in the name of God: "Behold, I will send you Elias the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers; lest I come and strike the earth with anathema." [2]

Elias has not died, nor has he been translated to heaven. It is the unanimous tradition of the Catholic Church that he will reappear before the end of the world, to preach to the Jews and convert them. There is a similar tradition that Enoch is also living, and will reappear, with Elias, to preach to the nations. It is a very common opinion that these are the two witnesses of the Apocalypse, slain by Antichrist and afterwards raised from the dead. But this is not certain and not admitted by Bossuet and some other learned men.

It is written in the prophecy of Daniel: "But at that time shall Michael rise up, the great prince who standeth for the children of thy people; and a time shall come such as never was from the time that nations began even until that time. *And at that time shall thy people be saved.* Every one that shall be found written in the Book." [3]

St. Paul, in much plainer and more ordinary language, free from the mystical figures of prophetic speech, foretells clearly and unmistakably the future conversion of the Jewish people.

"I say, then, hath God cast away his people? God forbid. . . . . God hath not cast away his people whom He foreknew. . . . . I say, then, have they so stumbled that they should fall? God forbid. But by their offence salvation is come to the Gentiles, to excite those to emulation. Now, if the offence of them be the reconciliation of the world, what shall the receiving be but life from the dead? And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in again. For, if thou wast cut out of the wild olive tree and, contrary to nature, wast grafted into the good olive tree, how much more shall they be grafted into their own olive tree? For, I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of this mystery (that you may not be wise in your own conceit) that blindness in part hath happened in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel be saved, as

[1] ii., 1–8. [2] iv., 5, 6. [3] xiii., 1.

it is written: Out of Sion shall come the Deliverer, and shall turn away impiety from Jacob."[1]

So far as the ultimate conversion of the Jewish people is concerned, the sense of this chapter is too plain to need a word of comment. But what does the apostle mean in the passage: "What shall the receiving be, but life from the dead?" When the Jews, as a people, under the direction of their rulers, rejected Christ and Christianity, they were abandoned by God, driven forth from Jerusalem and Judæa, and scattered through the world. The Church was transferred to the Gentiles, and spread through the Roman empire. Thus, "their offence was the reconciliation of the world." Their receiving, that is, their conversion, the apostle declares, shall be the cause of a benefit to the nations, so much greater than the effect of the preaching of the apostles, that it is like a universal resurrection. It seems indeed, at first sight, that the conversion of the Jews is foretold as to take place only after the multitude of the nations shall have embraced the faith. But may we not explain the language of St. Paul in the sense that the conversion of the Jews will not take place *until* the time has come for the gathering of all nations into the Church? When that time arrives, the conversion both of the Jews and of the heathen nations will be accomplished. And may not the Jewish people, after their conversion, play a principal and important part in the universal extension of the kingdom of Christ in the world? This interpretation is neces sary in order to preserve the parallel between the rejection of the Jews as the occasion and precedent condition of the conversion of the Roman empire, and their reception as the occasion and precedent condition of the general conversion of the nations, which will be like a resurrection from the dead.

The final conversion of the Jews is certain, on the authority of Holy Scripture.

The conversion of the nations in general is rendered equally certain by the same authority. "Blindness in part hath happened in Israel, *until the fulness of the Gentiles comes in.*" This sentence suffices, by itself, to make the matter certain. It can be corroborated by many other clear announcements to the same effect from the prophecies of Holy Scripture. But this is not necessary.

If, therefore, we are warranted in the conclusion that the kingdom of Antichrist is passing away, and near its end, we may confidently expect the coming of the kingdom of Christ as near at hand. We may look forward with a reasonable hope to the twentieth century as the age in which the triumph of the Catholic Church will at least be inaugurated and carried far forward to its complete fulfilment.

[1] Romans, xi.

The late glorious Pontiff, Pius IX., gave expression to his own confident belief in this approaching triumph, in a letter which he addressed to Mgr. Lachat, dated April 27, 1876.

"God is now taking the dross out of the crucible so as to render his people free from all alloy, and once more to clothe the Church for which Our Lord delivered Himself up with beauty resplendent with glory. And when God shall have accomplished this, he will remove the rod of his justice from the Church, and that his divine name may no longer be blasphemed, he will give her victory, a victory far more brilliant than her sufferings have been terrible. May this triumph not be delayed!"

The prospect of the approaching triumph of the Church, and the coming of Christ's kingdom in the world, is inspiring and encouraging in the highest degree. It ought to stimulate the zeal and enthusiasm of all Christians to labor for the accomplishment of these grand results, the regeneration of Christendom, and the conversion of the great mass of mankind on whom the light of faith has not yet shone.

We may expect that God will pour down an abundance of his divine graces both on Christians and on unbelievers, and that those miracles, even of a stupendous character, which are necessary and have been foretold, will not be wanting. But, it is by the co-operation of the free-will of men with the workings of divine providence, and the inspirations of grace, that the work must be accomplished. The Church must be militant even to the end. Evil spirits, and wicked or worthless men, will always be in opposition to the cause of God. We are not to expect that God will make Christians of unbelievers, or saints of Christians, by a *coup de grace*, and an exercise of coercive, irresistible power, under which they will remain as mere passive instruments in his hands. The religious and moral reformation of careless, unworthy, vicious and degraded Christians must be effected by strenuous efforts in many directions, by a multitude of men and women devoted to apostolic and philanthropic works. The social and moral evils existing in countries which are nominally Christian, may well appal even the most hopeful and optimistic minds. Any project to remedy these evils, especially in the great and over-populous cities, seems to be a Utopian dream. Let one think for a moment, of the idea of making the mass of vicious and miserable human beings who are at the bottom of the social order in London, Paris, Berlin, New York,—decent, moral and practically Christian!

It is not the lowest and most miserable class in nominally Christian countries, which alone needs to be reformed and evangelized. A very great number of the more educated and wealthier classes,

both of those who are reckoned among Catholics, and of those who are included among the adherents of the various Protestant sects, are in no sense practical Christians, but are living in neglect of any kind of religious observance. Even if they keep up a decent appearance of civic and social morality which saves them from open disgrace, they are frivolous, indifferent, in many cases deeply infected with sin and immorality. Unbelief, open or secret, skepticism, even atheism, are widely prevalent. Millions of the population of countries nominally Christian, are no better than heathens. The coming of the kingdom of Christ, must, therefore, first of all, consist, in a regeneration of that which by a euphemism, is called Christendom. There must be a general conversion from schism, heresy, infidelity, to morality, faith, practical religion and moral virtue. This is necessary, in order that the Catholic Church may have the moral power which is requisite for the conversion of the world.

The greatest evil and the most serious obstacle to the prosperity and extension of the Catholic Church has always been the wickedness of bad, and the apathy of careless, Christians. They have either but little life in them or none at all. In the latter case, so long as they have not lost faith, though they belong to the body of the Church, they make no part of its soul. The life of the Church is in its living members, who have faith, hope and charity, and in the highest sense in the saints. The vigorous and healthy state of the body of the Church is in proportion to the ratio of living, to dead, sickly and moribund members.

Notwithstanding the large number of degenerate and unworthy Catholics, who are a scandal to their profession, the Catholic Church has a host of worthy members in all her provinces, even those which are the most devastated by impiety and indifference.

The episcopate is worthy of the best ages of the Church. And back of the thousand bishops there is the great army of the priesthood, full of exemplary, zealous and learned warriors and laborers in the sacred cause of God.

The religious orders flourish, and to a considerable extent, though in diminished numbers, continue those works of the contemplative and active life, either in the older communities or in newer and more modern forms of association which were so extensive and abundant in the medieval period.

The religious congregations of women, most of which are of modern origin, reckon their numbers by the hundred thousand, and they are societies of saints. There is a great multitude in the secular walks of life, who manifest their faith by their good works, and at least, strive to be sincere penitents and to become reconciled to God.

Bands of apostolic men and missionaries, scattered through the world, within the bounds of Christendom, and in heathen nations, labor devotedly for the conversion of sinners and unbelievers. All kinds of institutes for works of education and of charity spring up and multiply everywhere. Our century has not been wanting, either, in martyrs, whose blood has watered the soil, who are bearing their palms among the great heroes of the past, and who are interceding for the heathen nations.

In the vindication of the Catholic Church and religion against all kinds of enemies, a host of combatants for the truth and against error and falsehood have contended valiantly and victoriously all along the line. In history, philosophy, and theology, the defense of the Catholic Church against aggressors, and the refutation of pseudo-science has been triumphant. It is true that the work is not absolutely complete, and that there is need for further effort in several directions. But a large and increasing number of intelligent and learned champions of the faith are engaged in the work, and are constantly extending the bounds of that genuine science which is in harmony with the faith.

Outside of the visible body of the Church, there are thousands who cherish all that is left to them of the Christian institutions. They sincerely strive to serve God, they have genuine piety and virtue, and are implicitly Catholics. Thousands among the heathen, doubtless, have the moral virtues, the upright intentions, and, according to their imperfect light, the religious sentiments, which entitle them to be called virtual Christians, and prepare them for the light of faith and the visitation of grace.

It is evident that the condition and prospects of the Catholic Church have changed decidedly for the better within the last century. There is a vast field open within and without the limits of Christian civilization. This field is white for the harvest. The conviction that the kingdom of Christ is coming and the kingdom of Antichrist passing away will encourage and invigorate all who are laboring in this field. The prospect of the great triumph of the Catholic Church in the next century is brilliant and entrancing. The closing chapters of the Apocalypse, describing the coming down of the city of God upon earth, surpass in sublimity and splendor, not only all the eloquence and poetry of classic authors, but all other inspired pages of the Holy Scripture.

Without doubt, this city of God, in its consummate and perennial splendor, is Heaven. Nevertheless, the building of it, and its inchoate splendor, belong to this world. It is far more in accordance with the analogies of divine providence, to suppose that the kingdom of Christ will go on, subduing all enemies, and taking entire possession of the world, so that the transition and met-

amorphosis of the earthly into the heavenly kingdom will be the completion of the conquest of Christ and the Church militant, gained over heresy, infidelity, and heathenism, than to imagine Antichrist victorious until a sudden, irresistible exercise of divine power breaks in upon the world to destroy him.

Some reasons have been given, though not as fully developed as they might be, for the belief that the last one of the great monsters rising out of the abyss to make war upon the Church has nearly run his course and is on the eve of being swallowed up by the burning lake; that the great statue with the golden head and iron legs is tottering to its fall. Nothing remains to be accomplished, save the final triumph of Christ and His Church, the last epoch in the history of Christianity. The chief ground for confidence that this triumph is at hand, is not in any forecast of the future as indicated by signs in the present. It is in the promises of Christ, and the power of God. The young and generous aspirants to the priesthood in the Catholic Church, who may reasonably expect to live for forty or fifty years to come, may hope to see these promises far on the way to their fulfillment.

In fact, we may see that their fulfillment has already begun, and read in the history of the second half of the nineteenth century, the promise of what will come in the twentieth and in all the time which will remain before the end of the world.

AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT.

[The October number of the "Dublin Review" contains a very admirable article by that distinguished Oriental scholar, Mgr. de Harlez, on Mohammedanism. The interesting volume prepared by Major Wingate from the MSS. of F. Ohrwalder gives a graphic account of the latest sanguinary and loathsome phase of Mohammedanism, the conquest and devastating ruin of the Soudan by the Mahdi.]

A. F. H.

THE TRANSFER OF THE INDIAN BUREAU TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

THE most formidable difficulty in the way of a just, proper and efficient administration of Indian affairs arises from the vast expanse of country over which the various tribes are scattered and the great distances between them and the centre of administration at Washington. This obstacle is far less formidable to-day than it was fifty or sixty years ago, when the Indian Bureau was first organized and the first Indian Commissioner appointed. At that early period most of the country west of the Mississippi river, and a great deal of it east of the sources of that river, was occupied almost exclusively by Indians, many of whom had never seen a white man, and even forty years afterwards, when the commissioner was required, by act of Congress, to embody in his annual report those "of all agents or commissioners issuing food, clothing or supplies of any kind to Indians, stating the number of Indians present and actually receiving the same," he could have made but a very poor census of the number existing in that vast region, especially as the average Indian has—or, rather, had in those days—almost as much opposition to census-taking as is said to have existed amongst the Jews of old.

Some one has wittily said of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, that the moment they set foot upon shore, "they fell upon their knees, and then upon the aborigines," and from that day to this the story has been a uniform one in regard to the contact between the whites and the red men. Imposition, cruelty, deceit, treachery and triumph on the part of the whites; resistance, a brave struggle, craftiness, loss of original character, demoralization and defeat on the part of the red man. There is but little variation in the details of the story as told by the white man himself. The Indian resisted long and gallantly, but the treachery of the white man, his rum and his religion were too much for the Indian. He had to yield at last, retreating farther and farther back as the white man advanced, giving up foot by foot the land he once called his own, and recognizing at last the bitter fact that the white man was destined to be his master and was far superior to him in driving a bargain and in the means of driving him off his hunting-ground.

One of the most pathetic things I ever heard was told by the late Mr. William Welsh, of Philadelphia, whose labors in the cause of the poor red man are well known.

Delegations are frequently brought in from the tribes of the West to see the Great Father and tell him their grievances.

These delegations do good by teaching the Indians the power, numbers and wealth of the white man.

On one occasion a large delegation of Sioux was brought east, and during their travels a grand reception was given them in the Academy of Music, in Philadelphia. The Indians were placed upon the stage, where a number of distinguished gentlemen made speeches to an audience which packed the large building from pit to gallery. Whilst the speaking was going on, Mr. Welsh noticed one of the chiefs seated at the back of the stage, with his head between his hands, his whole air showing dejection and sorrow.

With great difficulty Mr. Welsh, by means of an interpreter, drew from him the cause of his sadness. He said that some years before a delegation had been sent east from his tribe. They came back with such marvelous stories of the number of whites they had seen, the great cities they had passed through, the steamboats and railroads they had travelled on, that the Indians at home would believe nothing they said, and declared the whites had put bad medicine in their heads, and they could tell nothing but lies. The speaker was then a young and ambitious warrior, and he made a speech to his tribe, telling them he understood how the delegates had been so badly deceived by the whites; that when they met a crowd of them, and started ahead again, the whites slipped around a hill, and confronted them again and again, so that the Indians counted the same whites over and over. He begged them, when another delegation was called for, to send him east, and when he got back he would bring them the truth; that the whites could not fool him in that way! Years passed by, and another delegation was called for. His people remembered his speech, and selected him as a delegate. When he left camp he decided to keep an account of all the whites he saw, and providing himself with a stick, he commenced to notch upon it every white man he met. This was an easy matter as long as he was passing through the sparsely settled frontier, but after a while the cabins (teepies, as he called them) began to increase in number, and instead of notching down the people, he concluded to keep an account of the cabins, and estimate the number of people in each. But the cabins grew in number very fast as he approached the railroad, and on reaching that he found a town with many more cabins in it than all he had yet seen. They then got on the cars, and passed through town after town, each one larger than the last, and our poor bewildered Indian commenced to notch down the towns instead of the cabins. At length he reached Omaha, where he rode through miles of town, then Chicago, Washington, New York and Philadelphia; and now he realized the truth of what the former delegates had

reported; and when he found that he should have to go back to his people and make the same report, and that they would say of him, as they had said before, that the white people had put bad medicine in his head and he could not tell the truth, it made him very sad and filled him with sorrow.

Whilst this long struggle between barbarism and the *barbarous* "pioneers of civilization" was going on, the army, as represented by small posts scattered through the Indian country, played an important, though usually a subordinate, part. These frontier posts, garrisoned generally by a handful of officers and soldiers, were the gathering points in the wilderness for the floating whites and the wandering red men. The character of this floating white population, as is well known to all who have served on the frontier, was not representative of the *highest* type of civilization, and the effect was demoralizing in the highest degree to both soldiers and Indians. Conflicts between the whites and Indians were of common occurrence, and, generally, the results of the introduction of the vile "fire-water" by the whites, and the use of it by both whites and Indians.

The killing of a white man, the wounding of an Indian in a drunken brawl, the conflict of white and red men over the possession of a squaw, the theft of a horse or cow, sufficed to set the frontier aflame with war, and when war came, the soldiers were usually expected to adopt the side of the white men, and fight in a cause of wrong and injustice. The result of this state of things was to saddle upon the army the charge of demoralizing the poor Indian, when, in fact, the disposition to protect him existed, without the power to do it. For, whenever an Indian agent was on the ground, the jurisdiction of all matters relating to Indians was vested in the agent. It frequently happened that the agent, transferred from the midst of civilization, where his greatest claim for appointment to office was his ability to manipulate a parcel of ward politicians had never before been outside of his county or State, and knew nothing of the frontier, of the wild characters he was destined to meet there, and especially ignorant of the Indian, his character, modes of thought, principles of action, and wild recklessness—especially when under the influence of whiskey. All these things go a great way in determining what kind of an administration at the agency is about to follow. There are no human beings on earth possessed of a quicker faculty for (in western phraseology) "sizing up" a man placed in authority over them than Indians. Innately honest themselves, they will detect (in a very few days) whether or not their agent is honest and disposed to fairly in conducting their affairs. A great deal of this faculty is due to their extreme caution and suspicious dispositions in dealing

with subjects the prime elements of which they do not understand. Ignorant of the white man's language, and of the art of writing, justly suspicious of the ability of the average so-called "interpreter" to convey properly to the white man his ideas, or to him those of the white man, the Indian is extremely averse to going through the process of "touching the pen" (signing a treaty), which is to bind him in some mysterious way to a contract over the execution of which he never has any control, and the interpretation of which is *always* to his disadvantage. He speedily finds out by observation, not only the honesty or dishonesty of an agent, but as to whether he is just, fair, and zealous in his conduct of affairs. When once his confidence is gained, he is as trustful and faithful as a little child. On the contrary, if the agent is not one calculated to inspire this kind of confidence, he can never gain it, and will always be looked upon with suspicion and fear; and when despairing of getting their rights in any other way, the Indians conclude to go to war, the first one on whom they wreak their vengeance will, in all probability, be the agent himself.

A remarkable instance of the firmness with which Indians will retain their confidence in a white man, even to the extent of protecting him when all other white men's lives are at their mercy, came under my observation very early in life, when a young officer stationed in Florida. At the post where I was serving (Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay), was a Captain Casey who had, for a number of years, made the Seminole Indians a close study. He became well versed in their ways, their modes of thinking, and methods of acting; well acquainted with their chiefs and many others, and was frequently called upon to communicate between them and the government authorities. He became, in this way, very closely associated with them, learned a great deal of their language, and much more of their manners and customs. He early made it a matter of principle *never* to deceive them, never to promise a thing he was not able to fulfil, or never to allow them to first discover his inability to carry out a promise when circumstances took out of his hands the power to do so, but to warn them beforehand of his inability to do what he had promised. In this way he won their unbounded confidence in his integrity and honesty.

Tampa, Florida, now a city of some 15,000 inhabitants, was then a little hamlet with a few hundred people. The Seminoles broke out into hostilities, troops were sent into the country, and all the white settlers had to gather together and fortify themselves. A white man could not show himself beyond the limits of the town of Tampa without the risk of being shot by lurking Indians, whose presence was never known till the crack of a rifle revealed it to the victim. After one more truce was patched up and hostilities

ceased, Indians commenced again to come into Fort Brooke and visit Captain Casey. On one of these occasions one of the Indian visitors informed Captain Casey that he had seen him once during the "late war." He eagerly asked where, and was told the place, and on looking at his diary kept at the time, he found the Indian was correct, and that he had been at that very place, several miles outside of Tampa, when no other man would dare to have gone there. He told the Indian "that was at a time when almost every man who went outside of Tampa was sure to be shot. Why did you not shoot me?" "Oh," was the reply, "we knew you were our friend. An Indian does not kill his friend."

What a sermon this should be to those who profess to believe there is no good Indian but a dead one, and that the live ones are entirely destitute of any of the better attributes of humanity.

The average white man is not as quick in detecting a lie as an Indian, and once the Indian is convinced that the white man talks to him with "a forked tongue," there is an end forever of all confidence on his part. He is almost as rigid in his condemnation as children are, and in the minds of many is classed as a child, but the classification is true only in part.

Until 1849, the Indian Bureau was in the War Department, but its agents, including the commissioner, were not appointed by the War Secretary, and were usually selected with no reference whatever to peculiar fitness, but bestowed (under the pernicious system of the times) as a part of the spoils of political success. As a money-making matter, the agencies, with the low salary given, were not a success, and could not be so long as the agent was honest and faithful. Hence, the government was put in the position of offering a premium to dishonesty. Everybody knows how weak humanity is when the opportunity to make money is protected by absolute immunity from detection. The agencies were generally far removed from the centres of civilization. An agent on the pay of $1500 or $2000 would be obliged to transport himself and family, if he had one, to the agency, where he would live, cut off from all society, exposed to all sorts of deprivations for a period of four years, perhaps less, and, like the western inn-keeper, accused of charging too high for his accommodations, the agent replies to any one criticizing too closely his actions: "Do you suppose I came out here to a country like this for *my health?*" No, he goes out there and undergoes *worse* privations and more of them than the army officer for at least a comfortable living, and sometimes he adheres to honest principles. But just think of the temptation to which he is subjected. He has to do with a simple, child-like race, perfectly ignorant of all business matters, extremely suspicious of anything connected with the "talking paper" of the

white man, though ready to "touch the pen" as a receipt for goods in sight and to be paid over to him after that process is gone through with, but receipting, so far as he can tell, for ten times the amount he gets, and *if* one-tenth of what he receipts for is given to him, *who will ever know the difference?* Only when it comes to a matter of food is his knowledge any greater, and then it amounts only to this, that he knows the quantity is not sufficient to keep his wife and children from starving, and "there is no game to be had." The agent's reply, that he gets all the Great Father sends him, satisfies neither his hunger nor his sense of justice. For he sees the wife and children of the agent are covered by a roof and are clothed and well fed, and he has a grievance against the Great Father who is so far away. The records are full of the reports of such cases, and of the fact that the Indians do not get *all* the Great Father sends them or tries to send them.

Previous to 1849, when the War Department had control, the army regulations prescribed that where there were no agents, post commanders should act as agents for the Indians, and when there were agents, commanding officers on the frontier or in the Indian country were required "to lend them aid in furthering the views and intentions of the Indian agents" in the vicinity. When troubles arose from any of the various prolific causes which existed, it is easy to see how disastrous to the poor Indian a lack of accord between the agent and the army officer was bound to become, especially as, when the poor starving Indian came to the post, laid his complaint at the feet of the commanding officer, and pointed to his emaciated women and children, the commander ordered food to be issued to the poor wretches from the army stores, as he was empowered to do by the regulations, the breach between the army and the Indian Bureau was sure to be widened, for it was invariably said, even by the Indians, that the army could and would do what the agent could but would *not* do—feed starving women and children.

Sometimes this failure was due to the agent, but more frequently to causes over which he had little or no control. Even when his requisitions for supplies were timely and sufficiently ahead, it not infrequently happened that they failed to reach the points needed in time to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. In the more inclement parts of the great northwest, where the winters are excessively severe and the snow falls very deep, requisitions for the supplies required by the military, local merchants, and others have to be made in such a way as to insure the arrival of stores *before* they are needed; before the water-ways are closed by ice or the roadways by snow. Woe be to any one concerned in the requisitions for purchase or forwarding of such sup-

plies, if behind in his work. If the merchant be the owner, the result is, his profits on the shipment of goods are lost for that season. If the stores belong to the army, and the troops are in consequence shut off from food or clothing, a disturbance follows, which attracts the attention of the whole country, and somebody is held to a responsibility which renders a second case of the kind almost an impossibility; but, if the goods belong to the Indian Bureau, *nobody* seems to be responsible, and the poor Indians are the only people to suffer.

We have had frequent occasions, when serving on the frontier, to note the fact that when Indian supplies were most needed they were not on hand. It was not an unusual thing, when slow moving ox-trains (much used in the northwest) were caught in a heavy snow blizzard, for the teamsters to unhitch their teams, leaving the great wagons (coupled two and three together) standing in the road where the storm overtook them. The oxen are allowed to wander off at will to paw off the snow in search of food vital to them, to be recovered only after long search if the cessation of the storm and the condition of the roads permit the journey to be resumed. But it sometimes happens that these wagons spend the whole winter where they halted, guarded sometimes by a single man, sometimes by nobody. If a chance traveller on the stage-road should have the curiosity to ask what the snow-bound wagons were loaded with, the reply was but too apt to be "Indian supplies."

If a contractor for the transportation of army supplies was unfortunate enough to meet with those delays, he was compelled by the army "system" to prove conclusively that the delay was no fault of his; not only that he tried to avoid the storm when it came, but that he had travelled the required number of miles every day *preceding* the storm. How the contractor for the transportation of Indian supplies was held accountable, we have not the means of stating, but, judging from the lack of system then existing in the Indian Bureau in numerous other directions, we fear about the only important result of the delay occasioned by the storm would be the sufferings of the Indians themselves.

The defalcations, dishonesties, lack of system, and sufferings of the Indians at length reached such a point as to attract the attention of the whole country, and loud cries were heard from all parts, "Transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department." A fruitful source of complaint was the poor quality of the food furnished the Indians, and the charge was freely made that the contractor, as well as the government, appeared to act on the principle that anything was *good enough for the Indian.*

Yielding to the pressure, the government decided to appoint *officers of the army* to inspect not only the supplies delivered to the Indian Department, but these supplies when issued to the Indians. Now, the friends felt, our poor wards will get good food and good clothing, for our army officers are honest and will not be parties to fraud. But their confident predictions were not justified by the result, and they did not understand clearly how powerless even honesty is in the presence of greed and fraud protected by a bad system. Inspection by army officers, though not a complete success, served to develop some of the weak points in the defective system of the Indian Bureau. In one case, an ill-concealed attempt to bribe an army inspector was reported and fell upon deaf ears. In another, a wealthy contractor laughed in his sleeve, and whispered among his cronies how he fooled an army inspector who had placed his brand of inspection on a lot of flour presented to him for examination. The quality of the flour was acceptable and the bags duly branded. But the flour was *double* bagged, and the outside (branded) bag was removed and afterwards made to do duty once more, perhaps many times, on inferior flour. But, it will be objected, how was such a trick possible when *all* the goods received had to be inspected. That is the weak point in the system. All were *supposed* to be inspected, but all *in fact* were not. When the agent or the contractor wanted supplies inspected, the army inspector at a neighboring post was notified; but he was not always notified, and it apparently made no difference in regard to the receipt of the goods by the agent. We once asked a Secretary of the Interior if it was imperative that *all* goods received by agents should be inspected. He replied, nonchalantly, "No! that no imperative rule of that kind could be made, for the reason that sometimes agents *had* to receive goods when no inspector could be had." He did not seem to realize the fact that under such a system army officers, who were supposed to be the instruments for stopping fraud, ought not to be held responsible where such a wide door for fraud was left open.

Smugglers, as is well-known, watch till the officers of the law are out of the way, and then run in their cargoes of contraband goods.

The inspection of the issues of these supplies was upon the same level as that for their reception. The army inspector, when he arrived upon the ground where the goods were to be issued, found the Indians assembled ready to receive them. The goods were brought out of the storehouses and piled up ready for distribution. The inspector was looked upon as introducing an innovation when he proposed to verify the quantity of goods for distribution by the invoice which he had to certify as a correct statement of the goods

actually issued. "But how," asked the agent, "am I to drop from my return the food and clothing I have been issuing to Indians about the agency during the past three or four months?" "That is a question," was the reply, "which you must settle with the Indian Commissioner in Washington. I am here *now* to certify to *how much* of these things you issue to these Indians *here present*, and have nothing to do with your issues at any other time." How the agent dropped from his return the articles the army inspector would not permit to be placed over his certificate of issues it is difficult for an army officer to see, viewing the matter as he does from the standpoint of the "system" under which he has been brought up.

It should be observed that the system pursued in Indian affairs previous to 1849, uuder the direction of the War Department, *was not changed at all* when they were transferred to the Interior Department. Most of the agents, as well as the Indian Commissioner, were appointed from civil life, just as they are now, and the system of supplies and responsibility for them followed in the army was not applied to Indian affairs, and about the only difference between the manner of conducting Indian matters before and after 1849 was, that they were carried on under a different head in Washington, with an attempt to correct the abuses of a bad system by using sometimes army officers to aid in the duties of superintendents and agents in the distribution of goods, annuities, etc.

As an exemplification of how matters were conducted, it may be well to give an account of how goods were distributed to the Indians. One of the superintendents of Indian affairs resided in Saint Louis. Each year he would notify the commander of a post out on the Arkansas route to New Mexico that he would be at his post on a specified day to distribute the annuities. Word of this fact would be sent out to the Indians, and when the day came the whole valley of the Arkansas river would be filled for miles with the camps of the assembled Indians. The goods were distributed in the presence of the army commander, who was required by orders to be a witness to it. The Indians, if the distribution was liberal, were in great good humor, but did not hesitate to say they would "shake hands" with the soldiers *here*, but would not bind themselves to "shake hands" with the soldiers on the Laramie route, nor those down in Texas. Then the superintendent would depart for Fort Laramie where the same process would be gone through with, the Indians "shaking hands" with the soldiers there, but repudiating any friendship with those guarding the Arkansas route or the Texas country. The result was, that the next year, when the Indians assembled to receive their annuities from a beneficent government, some of those present were seen to wear the

overcoats of soldiers of that government killed in defending some other route!

To exemplify the difference between the army system and the way of doing things in the Indian Department forty odd years ago, the case of the Seminole Indians in Florida may be cited: When, in 1849, the Indian Bureau was transferred from the War Department, the Florida Indians were in hostilities, and a considerable military force was in the State to protect the settlers, with orders to accomplish the removal of the Seminoles. In consequence of this condition of affairs, those Indians were not transferred to the Interior Department until two years later. During the intervening period, every effort was made to induce the remnant of the tribe in Florida to emigrate to the West, and the question of forcing them out by making war against them was finally abandoned, and charge of them was transferred to the Interior Department in 1851. Previous to that time, Captain Casey, heretofore referred to, was placed in charge of them as agent. Whenever he had any money to turn over to Indians, his methods were marked by the utmost publicity. His custom was to invite a number of people to be present, citizens as well as army officers, and in their presence the money was counted out and delivered to the Indians in the most public way, so that no one could dispute the *fact*. In sending Indians to the West where payments of money were not to be made until they reached the country west of Arkansas, he pursued the same plan, and in public the amount due each Indian was counted out, placed in a bag marked with the proper name, and these bags of coin packed in a strong box fastened with two pad-locks. The box with one key was placed in charge of the Indians; the other key given to the officer in charge of the Indians. On their arrival West, the box was opened in the presence of all, and each Indian given his bag of money just as it left Tampa Bay.

In 1851, the Interior department appointed a "special agent to proceed to Florida for the purpose of effecting, by judicious arrangements and efforts, the removal of the Seminole Indians." In the event of these efforts not succeeding, it was stipulated that "nothing but your *actual and necessary expenses* will be allowed, the whole, *in no event*, to exceed the sum of $10,000." If the agent succeeded in his efforts in removing them, or any portion of them, a "liberal allowance" was to be made by the department. This "liberal allowance" was to consist of the commuted sum of $10,000, which was to cover "*all the expenses* of *every* description, including those personal to yourself from the commencement of the service, and a given sum of $800 for every warrior and $450 for each woman and child emigrated, which sums were "to cover *all other expenses and demands whatever*."

The agent went to Florida, and after expending some $2000 in taking Billy Bowlegs and some other Indians to Washington, and over $12,000 in bringing in a delegation from the West to persuade Billy and his people to emigrate, he succeeded in inducing twelve men and twenty-four women and children, many of whom were picked up on the coast outside the country occupied by the Indians, to go West. In December, 1852, the agent reported to the department the failure of the emigration scheme, and in the following May he was relieved of his trust. This scheme, which was to cost the government not to exceed, as an experiment, over $10,000, and if successful, wholly or in part, not to exceed, in addition to the $10,000, the authorized per capita for emigrated Indians, actually cost the government, in the end, nearly $50,000 for emigrating these thirty-six Indians; for the agent charged, not only the $10,000 (which, as has been shown, was to cover *all expenses of every kind*), but, in addition, he charged *all* his personal expenses of every kind—mileage at 10 cents a mile, and $5 a day, for his own services for over two years, during which he was supposed to be engaged in emigrating Indians, and *still* claimed the per capita for the Indians sent West! and even then brought the government in his debt over $17,000.

The commission of an officer of the army who should attempt to put such an account of double entries in against the government would not be worth a ninety-days' purchase.

We have endeavored in this paper to demonstrate the absolute necessity of having in the Indian bureau a system of administration similar to that prevailing in the army. We are, ourselves, thoroughly convinced that a good system far outweighs in importance the character of the agents employed to carry it out. In other words, we would rather trust the welfare of the government and the Indians in the hands of poor agents, under a good system, than in the hands of good agents under a poor system.

For the benefit of non-military readers, it may be well to state in what our army system consists, and it can be done in very few words. It is essentially this. Every want of the military body is, by timely anticipation, provided for by requisitions. The army does not always get all it wants, and many things are asked for which it never gets; but it asks *in time*, and always gets what is sent it *before* it is needed, so that even the most remote posts seldom suffer in respect of food, clothing, or other essentials. The system of purchasing, forwarding, and issuing, are all so well guarded and arranged, that abuses of any kind are always the exceptions. Coupled with this, is a system of *responsibility*, under which every individual in whose keeping money or property is placed, cannot rid himself of a cent or a pound, except by the rigid means provided by

laws and regulations, and this responsibility ensures the receipt by every member of the military body of *everything appropriated for them by Congress, and it can be used for no other purpose.* Of course, there are trap holes, as there are in all human systems. Rogues exist in all walks of life, but few will dispute the fact that a rogue in the army runs greater risks than anywhere else, and that, when detected, the penalties are far greater than almost anywhere else.

In discussing this subject of the transfer of the Indian Bureau, many bitter and absurd things have been said and written against the army, and many charges have come out against the military which never would have seen the light but for the supposed desire of army officers for the transfer, and the intense opposition to the transfer of a bureau in which great political patronage was available, and the popular idea (derived from all past experience) that the dealings of the government with a rude and barbarous people furnished the means of making money compared with which a rich gold-mine was far in the rear. Whereas, the records teem with evidence that, whilst army officers seldom hesitate to express the opinion that a transfer to army control was desirable, and calculated to ensure just and righteous dealings with the Indians, the protection of the government, and the certainty of the Indians getting everything Congress appropriates for them, they have generally shown an indisposition to the transfer, from a well-grounded fear that the army would run too much risk of being defiled by contact with such a service.

The charges made against the army, of demoralizing the Indians, forcing them into brutal wars, lacking in disposition to advance the welfare of the Indians, a lukewarmness in teaching them to cultivate the soil, acquire wealth and advance themselves in the arts of civilization, might have some standing if those who make such charges could establish a single case where (when the army was placed in undisputed control) the results to the Indians were not directly the opposite of demoralization, satisfactory to the Indians, and advanced their condition far beyond anything they had ever experienced, or if a *single instance* could be cited where the army (when beyond the control of civil agents) ever inaugurated a war with the Indians of any kind. Every officer and enlisted man knows, from sad experience, that Indian wars are the most trying and unsatisfactory of all wars; that the work is harder, the exposures and dangers greater, the successes more uncertain and unsatisfactory, the triumphs more rare and incomplete, the penalties of defeat more horrible, the rewards of triumph more meagre.

So well recognized are these facts that in the army a saying prevails that *glory*, in time of peace, consists of "being shot by a

squaw from behind a stump, and having one's name spelled wrongly in the newspapers." By "in time of peace" is meant the time when no war but *Indian war* is going on. These wars add nothing to the reputation of those engaged in them except with the few who are cognizant of the excessive toil, exposure and devotion of the army, the hard fighting with a foe, until recent years, far our superiors in the use of the rifle—recklessly placed in the hands of the Indians—and the horrible fate of those who fail. The many, whilst willing enough to applaud success, blindly condemn, in unmeasured terms, the failures which, in *nine cases out of ten*, are bound to occur either outright or as incomplete successes in a vast region where, from the smallness of the army, small forces are generally pitted against immensely superior numbers as perfectly acquainted with the country, the water-holes and fastnesses, as the buffalo and antelope occupying the same regions.

In reviewing what we have written in this paper (prepared at the request of the Editor of the CATHOLIC QUARTERLY), we find that we must invite attention to the fact that most of the paper relates to the *past*, not the *present*, condition of the Indian Bureau. Twenty or thirty years ago, had we been asked the question of the desirability of transferring the Indians to the War Department, we would have answered unhesitatingly, "Yes," and that the transfer would undoubtedly be for the welfare of the Indian, the protection of the government and the avoidance of future wars, and we presume most officers would have answered in the same way; but if asked the same question to-day, we should feel disposed to answer that such a transfer would be somewhat like shutting the door after the escape of the steed.

During that period great changes have taken place in the conditions surrounding the Indians. The vast regions then occupied by the Indians and a few military posts has been traversed by numerous railroads. These railroads, besides bringing the agencies and the military posts in closer communication with each other and with the centres of civilization, have done more to settle the Indian question than *all* other causes in the course of a century. By these roads and the settlement of the country which followed their coustruction, the vast herds of buffaloes, which constituted the travelling "commissariat" of the Indians, have been literally wiped off the face of the earth. All other game animals have been very much reduced, and the Indians, in place of being able to roam at will over this vast region, camping every night on the edge of this ample supply of food and clothing, are restricted to reservations, where they must be fed or must starve. Most of the Indian wars in modern time have been the results of the demands of the Interior Department on the War Department to use the army in compelling the Indians to stay on these reser-

vations. The two great struggles of 1876 in the Yellowstone region, during which the Custer massacre occurred, and the one with Chief Joseph and his Nez Perces in the following year, in Idaho and Montana, are both noted instances of war originating in that way. Perhaps there never was, in all our Indian transactions, a grosser instance of injustice and wrong than in the case of Chief Joseph and his tribe. By the action of the government, this chief and his people (all of whom proudly boasted they had never shed the blood of a white man from the time they first came in contact with the Lewis and Clarke expedition, in 1805, took charge of its horses, kept them all winter, and turned them back to the great explorers the following spring, fat and in good condition for crossing the mountains on their return trip, to the day when they were compelled to leave the favorite valley where they had lived so long and guaranteed to them by treaty twenty odd years before) were forced to go on a reservation they had never agreed to occupy, and, with a bitter sense of wrong, burst into hostilities with a people they had maintained peaceful relations with for more than two generations.

But great as have been the changes of the Indians' surroundings and their relations with the Indian Bureau, the changes in the bureau itself have been greater still, and its records furnish a very full confession of judgment and give every well-wisher of the Indians strong hopes for justice and right in the future. By these it is shown that great and radical changes in the administration of Indian affairs have taken place in late years.

Formerly, each agent had charge of the disbursement of the funds appropriated for his agency. Now these disbursements are very much restricted and controlled.

Formerly, almost all money was spent in making open market purchases. Now, purchases are made by contract and paid for through the Treasury Department, as in the army.

Formerly, agents were the sole judges of the necessities for the purchases. Now, they have to submit their requisitions and estimates to Washington for approval.

Formerly, "straw bids" were common, by means of which the same man, under a different name and with a higher bid, might become a contractor. Now, an effectual barrier has been interposed, so that any bidder who fails to do what he offers forfeits a certain deposit he is required to make.

Formerly, contracts were so drawn that contractors could and *did habitually* take advantage of the necessities of the Indians to force agents to accept inferior grades of goods. Now, contracts are so drawn as to entail upon contractors heavy loss if they fail to carry out their contracts in good faith.

Formerly, agents hired as many employees as they saw fit, pay-

ing such salaries as they chose. Now, authority has to be obtained in Washington, and legal limits are fixed to the amounts to be expended for employees.

Formerly, agents' accounts were not settled for years. Now, they are settled quarterly.

Formerly, funds were sent agents quarterly, though they had not settled their accounts for years. Now, no money is sent, even for the payment of employees, until the agents' accounts are received in Washington.

Formerly, unexpended balances were carried over from year to year. Now, they are covered into the Treasury at the end of each fiscal year.

Formerly, agents expended property as they pleased. Now, reasons have to be given, and authority obtained from Washington, before expenditures can be made.

Formerly, supplies were issued to and receipted for by the chiefs. Now, each head of a family receipts for himself. It is the same with annuity moneys.

Formerly, flour was received by agents without inspection. Now, it is inspected both before shipment and after its arrival at the agency.

Formerly, beef cattle were received by the agent on an estimate of the weight of the whole herd by the *agent* and the contractor's *herder* selecting two or three head, weighing them, and striking an average. A process similar to one said to have been formerly used in the west when weighing apparatus was not handy or perfect. In that, hogs were placed on on side of the scales and rocks on the other, and then—they guessed at the weight of the rocks. Now, the agent must receive on a weigher's certificate.

Formerly, Indian traders charged whatever price on their goods they chose. Now, prices are fixed in Washington.

Formerly, Indians were imposed upon with brass checks and store tickets. Now, this is forbidden, and nothing but money is allowed.

These and various other changes have been made, and with the proper administration of this system there need be no difficulty in detecting fraud and reforming abuses.

A very little examination of the above is required to show that the Indian Bureau is now conducted on essentially the same system as prevails in the army.

In the controversy attending the proposition for transfer, sweeping charges have been made on both sides which are not always strictly correct.

Army officers, witnesses frequently of the most outrageous frauds and imposition upon Indians whom they have known well for years, and perfectly powerless to interfere, have sometimes con-

demned the whole system of the Indian Bureau and denounced all agents as unprincipled sharks. This wholesale condemnation is not just, for most of us have, in the course of frontier service, known exceptions. I can recall two noted exceptions of agents whose faithful, zealous, and intelligent administrations have, in spite of the bad system under which they labored, left monuments behind them which will testify to their honesty and worth as long as a red man survives on this continent.

Agents and other officers of the Indian Bureau have, on their side, retorted by general charges against army officers which are known to be untrue by the army and most other people, who, from experience on the frontier, have had opportunities enough to qualify them as competent witnesses. Unfortunately, many good, conscientious people, intensely interested in the welfare and Christianization of the Indians, and without any of the qualifications of witnesses, have joined their voices in condemnation of the transfer. But this bitter controversy has produced at least one good result, in calling the attention of the people of the United States to the facts in the case; and hence has followed the great changes we have referred to in the system of the Indian Bureau, and the question of the transfer has lost most of its importance. For with the system as it now exists, and a faithful enforcement of its requirements, with a better plan in selecting agents, many of whom are now officers of the army, familiar with the army system, ready and willing to carry it out, the prospects of dealing out justice and right to the Indians, protecting them from imposition and the government from fraud, are now brighter than ever in the history of this country, and justifies the hope that this Indian question will cease to be a burning shame to the United States.

The system is not as perfect as the one in the army, where it has existed for so many years, and has had more officials on the spot to carry it out, but it is such a vast improvement over the former total *lack* of system as to promise important results in the future, provided it is persisted in and perfected as the defects are developed. If this is not the case, the well wishers of the Indians and the advocates of an honest administration will see additional cause to regret the transfer was not made to the War Department forty years ago.

Insisting upon a change in the system governing our Indian affairs is a thing of long standing in the army, as will be seen by any of our readers sufficiently interested in the subject by consulting the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, No. 6, of volume ii., 1881, where the subject is extensively discussed.

J. G.

THE AGE OF THE HUMAN RACE ACCORDING TO MODERN SCIENCE AND BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

Part IV.

The Antiquity of Man According to the Bible.

After a long and tedious, but nevertheless necessary, excursion into the domains of history, astronomy, physical geography and prehistoric archæology, we are at the long last prepared to discuss the question of Scriptural chronology. This portion of our subject however, although fully as important as that which precedes, can, fortunately, for the reader, be disposed of much more briefly. But this is not because of any certainty respecting the data of Biblical chronology, or because the Church has rendered any decision regarding the question of the antiquity of our race. In some respects, at least, the chronology of the Bible is almost as vague and as uncertain as the various chronologies which we have been considering, while, as regards the Church, she is committed to no system of chronology and has defined nothing concerning the antiquity of man. As the learned and pious Abbé le Hir well observes, "Biblical chronology floats in an undecided state; it pertains to the human sciences to determine the data of the creation of our species. But let scientists await irrefragable proofs; let them avoid exaggerations and illusions, and let them not give as certain, facts that are only probable, or no facts at all. When certitude in this respect shall have been acquired, all discussion will be at an end, because all divergence shall have ceased."[1] Sylvestre de Sacy, one of the ablest authorities on the subject, goes further and says "There is no Biblical chronology." Of substantially the same opinion are Hettinger, Valroger and Lenormant, all of whom are noted for their learning and their devotion to Holy Church. Cardinal Manning in his "Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost"[2] expresses the same view when he declares that "No system of chronology is laid down in the sacred books."

What may be said of Biblical chronology, may likewise, so far as the Scriptures are concerned, be affirmed of the vexed question of the antiquity of man. There is nothing certain about it, and scientists and apologists have, therefore, all the latitude in the discussion of the subjects that the certain facts and discoveries of profane science may demand. "It is an error to believe," as the erudite Mgr. Meignan truly remarks, "that the Catholic faith

[1] *Etudes Religieuses*, p. 511.

[2] P. 165.

restricts the existence of man to a period that does not go beyond 6000 years. The Church has never pronounced on a question so delicate."[1]

The difficulties here suggested, contrary to what many suppose, are by no means new. They have been recognized from the earliest ages of the Church. St. Jerome was so impressed with their magnitude that he abandoned altogether the task of establishing a system of chronology for the Old Testament. And the difficulties that beset all attempts at fixing the chronology of the Bible were acknowledged by other Fathers and commentators as well as by St. Jerome. More than a century and a half ago Des Vignoles in his learned work on "Chronology of Sacred History" tells us that he collected upwards of two hundred different calculations, the shortest of which gives but 3383 years from the creation of the world[2] to the birth of Christ, whilst the longest reckons 6984 years. This makes a difference of thirty-five centuries. And Des Vignoles did not take account of all the chronological calculations that had been made, but only of the principal ones. D'Ortous de Mairan, a distinguished astronomer of the last century, arrived at a similar result. Having examined seventy-five distinct chronological systems, he found that the lowest estimate placed the date of the creation of the world at 3700 years B.C., while the highest fixed it at 7000 years. Since his time the number of systems of Biblical chronology that have been excogitated and promulgated has greatly augmented. During the past few decades, especially, Scriptural scholars have been unusually active in their endeavors to clear up at least some of the difficulties that have so long puzzled chronologists. The discoveries of Assyriologists and Egyptologists have thrown a flood of light on many disputed points, but there are innumerable problems which are yet unsolved, and which will probably ever remain as much of an enigma as they are at present.

Indeed, no one who has not made a special study of questions like the one we are now discussing has the faintest conception of the countless obstacles encountered by the chronologist in his particular branch of science. A simple illustration is the colossal work of the Benedictines of Saint Maur, entitled "L'Art de Verifier les Dates." This remarkable monument of labor and erudition appeared in 1750 in a single quarto volume. In less than a century it was so augmented as to make no less than thirty-eight volumes.

[1] *Le Monde et l'Homme Primitif selon la Bible*, p 163.

[2] The majority of chronologists, until the present century, confounded the time of the creation of the world with that of the creation of man, because they were of the opinion that the one was separated from the other by only six days of twenty-four hours each.

The causes of the difficulties and discrepancies occurring in Scriptural chronology are manifold. In the first place, the Old Testament, as is well known, comes to us through three different channels, viz.: the Hebrew text, the Samaritan text, and the Greek version of the Septuagint. In respect of their divers chronologies these three sources are hopelessly at variance with one another. Many attempts, it is true, have been made to reconcile them with each other but they seem to be utterly irreconcilable.[1] Nor have we any intrinsic reason for preferring any one of them to the others. All have had and still have their defenders.

The chief, if not the only difficulties, worth mentioning here, occur in the genealogical lists of the patriarchs from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham. According to the Samaritan text the interval between Adam and Noah and the Deluge amounted to 1307 years; according to the Hebrew, from which we obtain our Vulgate, it was 1656, while according to the Greek or Septuagint version it was 2242 years. In like manner, the time that elapsed between the Deluge and the calling of Abraham was, according to the Samaritan, Hebrew and Greek sources, respectively 1017, 367 and 1147 years. Thus the three texts in the order named would yield 2329, 2023 and 3389 years for the period intervening between the creation of Adam and the call of Abraham. But the Septuagint has a number of variants in the genealogies of both the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs. For antediluvian times, Eusebius gives a total of 2242 years; Julius Africanus, 2262; Clement of Alexandria, 2148; Josephus, 2156. From the Deluge to Abraham, Eusebius reckons 945 years; Theophilus of Antioch, 936; George Syncellus, 1070; Julius Africanus, 940; Clement of Alexandria, 1175; Josephus, 993. "These variants," as Darras well observes, "constitute for the general chronology of the first two epochs of history a difficulty, which probably will never be solved." The figures, however, which we have given are those ordinarily accepted.

As a consequence of these different elements and variants divers figures have been obtained by the supputations of chronologers for the period that elapsed between the creation of Adam and the beginning of our era. The modern Jews fix the date of creation at 3761 years B.C.; Scaliger at 3950; the learned Jesuit, Petavius, at 3983; Usher at 4004; Clinton at 4138; the new edition of the "Art of Verifying Dates" at 4963; Hales at 5411; Jackson at 5426; the Church of Alexandria at 5504; the Church of Constantinople at 5510; Vossius at 6004; Panvino at 6311; the Alphonsine Tables at 6984. The mean date assigned by the

[1] St. Augustine says anent this matter, *De quibus rationem aut nullam aut difficillimam reddunt*, and his words are as true to-day as when they were first penned.

earlier Ecclesiastical writers fixes the date of the creation of the world at 5500 years before our era. Origen makes it 5000 years, while Eusebius places it at 5300, and Julius Africanus at 5562 years. Adding the highest of these numbers to 1893, the time since the coming of Christ, we have, as the age of our race, a period that embraces no less than 9000 years.

These figures, which are only a few of those that might be adduced, are amply sufficient to exhibit the total lack of certainty that obtains in the chronology of the earlier history of mankind.

Owing to the labors of Joseph Scaliger, who laid the foundations of modern chronological science, the chronology of the Hebrew text has generally prevailed since the sixteenth century. Before his time, however, the chronology of the Septuagint predominated. During the first six centuries of our era it was used by both Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers. It is still employed by the Greek Church, and retained in the Roman Martyrology, which places the date of the creation at 5199 years before the coming of Christ.

But notwithstanding the efforts of Scaliger and his followers to give vogue to the Hebrew Chronology, the Septuagint, even before the imperative demands of modern science were made, still counted many defenders among modern scholars. Among these were Isaac Vossius, Morin, Cappell, the learned religious of Citeaux, Father Perrone, and the erudite ecclesiastical historian, Cardinal Baronius. The latter, while fully recognizing all the difficulties of the question, avowed his preference for the chronology of the Septuagint as being more in accordance with the traditions of the Church. Many of the earlier Fathers adopted it for a similar reason. They perceived, as we do to-day, the difficulty of reconciling the chronology of the Vulgate with the histories of Egypt and Chaldea. The most distinguished modern advocate of the Samaritan text was the celebrated German Egyptologist, Lepsius, who followed it in his learned work on the "Chronology of the Egyptians."

For some unexplained reason, the chronological system of Usher, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, has found its way into the English versions of the Bible, and many there are who believe that the dates given at the heads of some of the chapters belong to the original Scriptures, whereas all students of Holy Writ are well aware that the inspired authors of the Sacred Record gave no such dates.

The Church has always permitted her children full liberty of opinion regarding the much controverted question of Biblical chronology. The Council of Trent, which issued so many wise decrees respecting the Canonical Scriptures, left the subject of the number of generations of patriarchs, together with their respective

ages, an open question to be settled, if possible, by historians and scientists. Biblical chronology, as such, has no bearing on dogma, and for this reason the Church has never given the matter any attention, and most likely never will.

It is perfectly manifest that the genealogical tables of but one of the three texts, Hebrew, Greek, and Samaritan, can be correct. The other two must, therefore, be erroneous. Which one is right and which are wrong will most likely ever remain a matter of dispute. "Some chronologists," says Bergier, "think that the Hebrews have shortened their chronology; others are of the opinion that the Seventy have lengthened the period of time from Adam to our Lord; while others again give their preference to the Samaritan text." But none of these three opinions are susceptible of demonstrative proof. The arguments advanced by critics in favor of any of these divers opinions are at best serious—never decisive.

But it is not certain that any of the three texts give the exact figures contained in the autographic copy of Genesis by Moses. If two of the texts are manifestly erroneous, in so far as they refer to the genealogical lists of the patriarchs, it is far from certain that the third is not likewise incorrect. It is impossible to prove that the original figures have not been altered by copyists, either intentionally or through inadvertence, and hence we have no warrant for concluding, as is so often done, that even the oldest copy of the Pentateuch in existence contains the exact numbers written by Moses. For this reason it is that Mgr. Meignan does not hesitate to declare that "The precise date of the apparition of man on earth cannot be determined with certitude."

If the alterations were but few, and of but small moment, we should be justified in fixing the date of the creation of Adam somewhere between 4000 and 7000 years B.C.,—a wide margin, it is true,—and of placing the age of our race at between 6000 and 9000 years. This we may assume until evidence is forthcoming to the contrary.

But just here we are confronted with another and, if anything, a more serious difficulty. Are we sure that the lists of the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs are complete? Have we any positive evidence that they are not fragmentary, and that there are no *lacunæ* in them? Far from it. On the contrary, there are grave reasons for believing that many links in the chain are lacking, and that the catalogue of the descendants of Adam in a direct line to Abraham is probably incomplete. It must be said, however, that there is no direct evidence in Genesis of such gaps. It is furnished rather by passages from other portions of the Old and New Testaments, and made more plausible by extrinsic considerations based on the declarations of science and history.

"The genealogies of the Bible," observes M. Wallon, "having for object to give us the filiation of men and not the succession of time, and being able therefore to suppress intermediaries, no calculation can, with any degree of certainty, go beyond Abraham.[1] In another place the same judicious writer asserts that "The chronology of the Bible can be established only by genealogical lists. But the Orientals, in their genealogies, have a care for only one thing,—to follow the direct line without attaching special importance to intermediaries. Thus, whole generations are suppressed, and, as a consequence, years and even centuries are taken from our calculations." Long ago, before the advance of science indicated the necessity of an extension of time for the patriarchal age, Father Lequien wrote as follows: "It is possible that Moses deemed it proper to make mention of only ten of the principal patriarchs who lived before the Deluge, and of ten others who lived between this epoch and Abraham, omitting the others for reasons to us unknown, as St. Matthew has done in the genealogy of our Lord, and as the authors of the book of Ruth and of the first book of Paralipomenon have done in that of David and in that of the high priests.[2]

To the instances adduced by Lequien, Vigouroux cites others. Thus, "even in the Pentateuch Laban the *grandson* of Nachor is called his son, through the omission of the name of Bathuel, his father. Jochabed, the mother of Moses, is called the *daughter of Levi*, although Levi was certainly dead a long time before her birth. In the first book of Paralipomenon, Subael, a contemporary of David, is spoken of as the *son of Gerson*, who was the son of Moses, and lived many ages before. In the third and fourth books of Kings, as well as in the second book of Paralipomenon, Jehu is named the *son of Namsi*, notwithstanding he was his grandson. In Esdras, Addo, who was the grandfather, is called the father of Zachary. Our Saviour, as is well known, is often spoken of as the son of David. The Gospel of St. Luke, according to the Septuagint, contains in the genealogical tree of our Lord, as all are aware, a name—that of Cainan—which is wanting in the genealogical list of St. Matthew, and which is not found at all in the Hebrew and Samaritan texts."

A far more striking example of the existence of *lacunæ* in genealogical trees is afforded by St. Matthew. From the list of the ancestors of our Saviour he excludes, and to all appearances intentionally, three well-known royal names, Ochozias, Joas, and Amasias.[3] This suppression is the more specially deserving of attention inasmuch as it may enable us to detect the motive of the

[1] *La Sainte Bible Résumée*, tome i., p. 435.

[2] Quoted by Vigouroux in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, October, 1886, p. 371.

[3] It is to be noted that in spite of this triple suppression the evangelist uses

systematic omission of a number of links in the genealogical chain. It seems, indeed, to have been for mnemotechnic reasons. As the genealogical tables were learned by heart, numerous expedients were resorted to in order to facilitate the labor of the memory and to enable it to retain the dry lists of names. With this object in view, and indicating at the same time his method of procedure, the Evangelist has subdivided the entire series into three groups of fourteen members each. And because the second would have had seventeen in lieu of fourteen members, which would have destroyed the economy of distribution, he eliminates three of them. "We may suspect," continues Vigouroux, "an analogous mnemotechnic reason for the two patriarchal genealogies. They seem, indeed, to be based on even a more simple system. They each one reckon before and after the Deluge ten names, the number easiest to remember, the number which corresponds to the ten fingers of the two hands, and that, too, on which the decimal system is founded the world over."

The decimal number, then, of the patriarchs before and after the Deluge, and the custom of the Orientals often to suppress intermediate members in their genealogical lists, all authorize us to admit the possibility of hiatuses in the enumeration which Moses makes of the direct descendants from Adam to Abraham. But if this be so, the date of the creation of man may go back much farther than has hitherto been believed, because it would then be necessary to extend it by the duration of the life of all those personages omitted in the catalogues of Genesis. The epoch, consequently, of the apparition of man on the earth is entirely uncertain, not only because we are ignorant of the true figures written by the author of the Pentateuch, as we have already seen, but also, and more especially, because we do not know what may be the number of hiatuses in the genealogical series. If the alteration of figures can affect the antiquity of man only to a limited extent, it is quite otherwise with the omissions of whole generations, because, if these omissions be numerous, the date of the first man may be put back many centuries.

In consulting, therefore, only the Bible, we are left in a state of complete uncertainty regarding the antiquity of our race. It is possible that according to the actual Hebrew text, it is but six thousand years; it is possible, that it is eight thousand years, according to the Septuagint; it is also possible to suppose that it dates back much farther by reason of the lacunæ which we are justified in assuming to exist in the genealogical trees. Such is

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the word *genuit—Joram genuit Oziam*—although Ozias was the son of Amasias. This proves that the Hebrews, like the Orientals generally, did not always employ this expression in its strict sense. The word is the consecrated term always employed in genealogical lists, and may signify mediate as well as immediate filiation.

the final conclusion to which we are led by a critical study of the Sacred Text—uncertainty and ignorance.[1]

These views of the distinguished Sulpician are shared by many other modern exegetists whose erudition is as profound as their orthodoxy in matters of dogma is unquestionable. Among these may specially be mentioned the learned Jesuits, Fathers Bellynck,[2] Knabenbauer[3] and Brucker.[4] Father Bellynck declares emphatically that "There does not exist any chronology in the Bible. The genealogies of our Sacred Books," he goes on to say, "from which a series of dates has been deduced, present occasional gaps. How many years are missing from this broken chain? We cannot tell. It is therefore permitted to science to put back the deluge as many years as science may judge necessary." Father Brucker maintains the existence of gaps in the list of postdiluvian patriarchs in order to account for the various ethnologic and linguistic types of humanity that are known to have been formed during the interval between the Flood and the time of Abraham. Hence he does not hesitate to assert that "We are free to add to the vulgar date of the Deluge as many centuries as serious and scientific reasons may demand."

It may be urged that such opinions contravene the teaching of the Church regarding the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures. Reusch observes in reference to this matter that "The chronological statements of the Old Testament certainly do not belong to the things which God has revealed, but to those which Biblical historians have recorded on the authority of tradition or of older records; and from a religious point of view the question as to the period that elapsed between the Deluge and the time of Abraham and Moses is of no more importance than the age of the patriarchs,"[5] which, the same writer avers, "is in no way directly and necessarily connected with the religious truths of the Bible. In all that belongs," continues Reusch, "to what is revealed in Holy Scripture of the *res fidei et morum*, or is closely and necessarily connected with them, we know that the Church's interpretation is right, and that therefore no new interpretation of anything essential is admissible. But in matters only distantly connected with doctrine, such as purely historical, geographical, scientific, and also chronological statements, the Biblical expressions are not always so clear and unmistakable, and thus they may be, and have been

[1] *Loc cit.*, pp. 372 *et seq.*

[2] *Etudes Religieuses*, Art. "Anthropologie," April, 1868.

[3] *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*, Art. "Bibel und Chronologie," 1874, pp. 362–372.

[4] *La Controverse*, Art. "La Chronologie des Premiers Ages de l'Humanité," March, 1886 and "Quelques Eclaircissements sur la Chronologie Biblique," September, 1886.

[5] *Natur und Bibel*, English Translation, vol. ii., p. 254.

differently interpreted; therefore, as regards these points, new interpretations may be considered.[1]

The learned Sulpician, the Abbé de Foville, gives in a nut-shell, the Catholic doctrine on the subject when he declares that "The Bible, indicates in a measure which suffices for its divine scope the chronological order of the facts which it relates. But the Holy Spirit not having inspired it in order to found or cast light upon the science of chronology, we should not seek in it a detailed and precise chronology, a complete system of dates accurately indicated, methodically connected, and perfectly preserved." [2]

The Abbé Bourgeois, the distinguished archæologist, and, to the day of his death, an ardent champion of Tertiary man, is not less positive when he affirms that "the text of the Bible is brief and obscure; geology and prehistoric archæology, notwithstanding some truths which have been acquired, are not less obscure in respect of many essential points. Why establish premature concordances, and not rather wait for light, with the well-founded confidence that scientific truth can never be opposed to religious truth?"

Modern science has certainly discovered nothing that should in the least change or weaken our faith or shake our confidence in any of those verities which the Church proposes for our belief. Only those who are ill-informed, or who take a one-sided view of the discussion that has engaged our attention in these pages, see in the question of the antiquity of man any cause for apprehension as to the ultimate results to which a thorough ventilation of the subject will lead. Learned archæologists and theologians like the Abbés Bourgeois and Delaunay and Valroger, who devoted the best years of their lives to the study and elucidation of this and cognate subjects, never came across anything in their investigations, and they were always in the front rank of the scientific movement, to discourage them or to cause them to think, even for a moment, that science and religion are irreconcilable. Far from it. The lives and the works of these pious and erudite advocates of our holy faith afford us a striking illustration of the liberty of thought permitted to the Catholic investigator in matters of science and speculation. When Abbé Bourgeois thought he had demonstrated the existence of Tertiary man by his discovery of the flint flakes at Thenay, he saw no reason for rejecting the Scriptural chronology, and still less for impugning the authenticity and inspiration of the Bible as held by the Church. Granting that the flints discovered by him were fabricated by rational beings, might not such beings belong to a distinct species from that descended from Adam—a species extinct before the time of our first ancestor, and a species, consequently, about which the Scripture is silent? Nay,

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 255. [2] Quoted in *The Catholic World*, vol. xl., p. 449.

even, may there not have been many species of the genus *Homo*-pre-Adamites, who lived and died before the apparition of Adam and the race of which he is the father? Neither the Abbé Bourgeois nor the Abbé Delaunay saw in this hypothesis anything contrary to Catholic dogma. It is something that does not come within the purview of Scripture—which deals only with the Adamic species—and which does not in the least militate against any of the truths proposed by the Church for our acceptance. The Abbé Fabre d'Envieu and the Abbé Valroger, a distinguished member of the French Oratory, did not hesitate to advance as a conjectural hypothesis the existence of a race of rational beings—pre-Adamites[1]—distinct from our own, as a means of meeting the difficulty raised by the alleged discovery of Tertiary man.[2] But their theory was not needed, for Tertiary man, as we have seen, is a *chimæra*, and the concurrent testimony of the ablest geologists and archæologists of the day relegates his existence to the limbo of exploded hypotheses and fantastical speculations.[3]

The evidence we have examined regarding the age of our race proves one thing, and proves it most conclusively, and that is, that the question we have been discussing is far from being definitively answered either by Scripture or science, and, according to present indications, it seems improbable that we shall ever have a certain answer regarding this much controverted topic. The testimony of astronomy does not, as such, make either for or against the Biblical chronology, because astronomy as a science was not cultivated until some thousands of years after the advent of man on the earth. The testimony of history, and especially the history which takes us back farthest—the history of Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea and Babylonia—admirably corroborates the testimony of the Bible concerning the antiquity of man. The sciences of linguistics, ethnology and physiology have discovered nothing that is incompatible with the acceptance of the chronology of Scripture as understood by our most competent apologists. The statements of geology and prehistoric archæology are so vague and conflicting and extravagant that nothing definite can be gathered from them beyond the apparently indisputable fact that the age of our species is greater than the advocates of the

[1] It is scarcely necessary to observe that the pre-Adamites of Valroger and his confreres do not come under the category of the pre-Adamites of La Peyriere, whose doctrines in this matter were condemned by the Church. The theory of La Peyriere in a modified form was advocated by the late Prof. Winchell in his voluminous work, *Pre-Adamites*.

[2] The hypothesis was favorably commented on by the eloquent Père Monsabré in his *Conférences de Notre Dame*, pp. 68, 69.

[3] See two letters of the Abbé Delaunay, the learned and zealous collaborator of the Abbé Bourgeois, on the flints of Thenay, and their bearing on Tertiary man, in the appendix to vol. iii. of Vigouroux's *Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste*.

Hebrew and Samaritan texts of the Bible have been wont to admit. It may, however, be asserted positively that no certain geologic or archæologic evidence so far adduced is irreconcilable with a chronology that we are warranted in deducing from the known facts and genealogical records of the Book of books. Until other and more conclusive evidence is forthcoming, the chronology of the Septuagint, as read in the light of modern Catholic exegesis, is abundantly competent to meet all the real difficulties respecting the antiquity of man which have been proclaimed to the world with such pomp and circumstance by geologists and archæologists during the past few decades.

The late Abbé Moigno who made an exhaustive study of all the evidence bearing on the question, gives it as his opinion that "the exact date of the creation of man, of his first appearance on the earth, remains entirely uncertain or unknown, but that there would be some rashness in carrying it back beyond 8000 years."[1]

Abbé Hamard, of the Oratory of Rennes, one of the most eminent archæologists of France, says, in reference to this subject, "that it is necessary to adopt the chronology of the Septuagint as affording us notably more time we are convinced, but we fail to see any reason for carrying this chronology beyond the 8000 or 10,000 years which it accords us as a maximum."[2] Father Hewit, C. S. P., writes: "Thus far we have not seen any plausible reason to put back the beginnings of the human race to an earlier period than 10,000 years B.C. We are firmly convinced that a concurrence of proofs from all branches of science bearing on the subject, Scriptural exegesis included, requires the admission of a date for the creation of the human species at least ten or twenty centuries earlier than the vulgar era of 4004 B.C."[3]

The Abbé Vigouroux, who, although conservative, never flinches before a difficulty, says: "We maintain, it is true, that the progress of the civilizations which flourished in Egypt and Chaldea from the times of the most ancient kings whose names are known to us, as well as the discoveries of geologists and palæontologists, demand a longer time than the chronology of the Septuagint allows us; but here all calculation becomes impossible, and we can but say to the archæologists and savants, establish by irrefragable proofs the antiquity of man, and of the people of the earlier ages, and the Bible will not contradict it. Does it not give us to understand that it leaves these questions to the discussion of men, provided they keep within the bounds of sound criticism, when it declares through Ecclesiasticus: *Arenam maris et pluviae guttas et dies*

[1] *Splendeurs de la Foi*, tome ii., p. 612.

[2] *Les Science et l'Apologetique Chretienne*, p. 31. Cf. the article by the same writer on *Adam*, in the *Dictionaire de la Bible*, Publié par F. Vigouroux, fascicule i.

[3] *The Catholic World*, January, 1885, p. 451.

sæculi, quis dinumeravit?[1] Who hath numbered the sand of the sea and the drops of rain and the days of the world?"

As to ourselves, we incline to a liberal but legitimate interpretation of the version of the Septuagint, and are disposed to attribute to man an antiquity of about 10,000 years. It may be a little more or it may be a little less. Certain it is that there is not as yet a single known *fact* that necessitates an extension of this period. Future research may indeed raise the figure to 12,000 or 15,000, or even 20,000, years, but judging from the evidence now available, and bearing in mind the disposition of many of our most eminent scientists to shorten rather than prolong the age of our species, it seems more likely that the general consensus of chronologists will ultimately fix on a number that shall be below rather than above 10,000 years as the nearest approximation to the age of our race.

The question in reality is one which is to be settled by history rather than by natural science, whatever geologists and archæologists may say to the contrary. It is precisely in questions like this that history, to use the happy expression of Cicero, is not only the *nuntia vetustatis*—"the messenger of antiquity"—but also the *lux veritatis*—"the torch of truth"—without which we must forever hopelessly grope in darkness. Science may adduce facts regarding the age of our race, but history, and history alone, must be their chief and, ofttimes, their sole interpreter. Thus far the conclusions of authentic history and the teachings of Holy Writ respecting the age of the human race are so marvellously concordant that they may be considered as giving testimony that is identical. Aside from certain apparent discrepancies, resulting from lack of information or misinterpretation of fact, there has never been any serious conflict between the two; there is no conflict now; and we are firmly convinced that there will be none in the future, because, from our point of view, a conflict is from the very nature of the case impossible. And we make this declaration, not in the spirit of special pleading; not because we love science less and the Bible more; not because we assume that there is or can be an attitude of hostility on the part of science—we do not mean theory—towards religion; not because we ignore facts or minimize logical deductions from facts observed; but because we are as firmly convinced as we can be of anything that God is the Lord of science; that science is the handmaid of religion; that the two speaking of the same Author, although in different tongues, must voice the same testimony; and that this testimony must be not only unequivocally true but also unequivocally one. We fear not facts—we have been searching for them all our lives,—but experience has led us to distrust theories that are prematurely

[1] *Revue Des Questions Scientifiques*, October, 1886, p. 407. Cf. *Manuel Biblique*, tome i., p. 568, and *Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iii., p. 547.

formulated. We welcome now all facts, as we always have welcomed them, bearing on the age of our race, and we are certain that in the long run, when all the necessary facts are reported and co-ordinated, the results will be as harmonious as a certain school would now have us believe they are discordant.

We could not have a more striking illustration of the vagaries to which the unguided human intellect is subject than is afforded by the vacillating and extravagant notions it has entertained regarding the antiquity of man. It has been willing to believe everything as possible and to accept the most manifest absurdities as tenable. For more than a generation past we have been asked to accept as veritable science what was obviously nothing more than a tissue of arrogant and threadbare conceits—a reflection of individual fancy and not a mirror of the facts of nature. Like the spectre of the Brocken, the science of many of our modern "advanced thinkers" is but an empty shadow of their own mind's throwing—a magnified, intangible, evanescent phantom projected on a background of cloud and mist. The theories are, indeed, made plausible to an unsuspecting public, because they are presented with all the enchantments of persuasive speech. For their authors, truth to tell, often possess what St. Augustine characterizes as the *illecebrae suaviloquentiae*. Yet all this is but a specious cloak for uncertainty and ignorance. The inductions from false premises that we are bidden to regard as the last word of science are frequently as hypothetical as the *chimera bombinus in vacuo* of the mediæval metaphysicians. But such is the vogue of much that passes under the name of modern science, not in any one particular part of the earth but the world over, from Copenhagen to Lisbon,

"A Gadibus usque ad Auroram et Gangen."

We must, however, regard it as one of the manifestations of the *zeitgeist* of our generation. For, be it known, the zeitgeist is a capricious being and more changeable than Proteus. It knows how to satisfy its votaries, who, like the Athenians and the strangers that St. Paul addressed on the Areopagus "employed themselves in nothing else but either in telling or in hearing some new thing."[1] But recent events and revelations in every department of science seem to betoken a speedy return to a more serious and a more conservative *régime*. The fin-de-siecle, dilettante man of science is fast losing the prestige he once had, and scientists generally, who have long been traveling in an orbit of great eccentricity, are rapidly returning to perihelion—to that centre of light and truth where flames for all earnest seekers after knowledge the light of science and wisdom.

J. A. Zahm, C.S.C.

[1] Acts of the Apostles, xvii., 21.

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

ONE ought not to be severely blamed for glorying in the commonplace fact that he had a grandfather; and when certain units of our heterogeneous population gather periodically around the festive board for such mutual congratulation, our sympathies would not be withheld if we did not perceive, too frequently, that though these reunions are truly encouraging to a certain flow of soul, they are apt to degenerate into feasts of rampant and unmitigated unreason. All of the associations that celebrate Forefathers' Day do not err in this regard to an equal extent; nay, some, like that of the real or presumed descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, seldom treat us, nowadays, to many exhibitions of ignorance and prejudice. But there is one society which ever claims the championship in matters of historical legerdemain. The American Huguenot associations annually regale us with grossly exaggerated, and often absolutely false, accounts of the heroic virtues of their reputed ancestors, and of the terrible persecutions, on the part of Catholic France, which caused those heroes to migrate to the New World. Their pet and ever-acclaimed yarn is that which forms the title of this article; and, in its presentation, they systematically eschew all reference to any facts which would justify, at least in the minds of the rulers in the seventeenth century, what seems to us an over-harsh measure. They find a malicious pleasure in descanting on the evils which they declare to have accrued to France from the Huguenot emigration. Thus, we are told that the mother country lost an immense number of worthy citizens, whereas it can be shown that not more than 50,000 Protestants sought a foreign refuge—a half of the number lost at that time in a single campaign in Bohemia. It is asserted that France lost incalculable wealth through the criminated edict, whereas, it is certain that she had never before been so rich in current money, and that her manufactures were quadrupled precisely at that time. We are asked to lament the loss of innumerable soldiers withdrawn from under the flag of the Lilies, whereas, we know that the twenty millions of Frenchmen of that day furnished 500,000 combatants at one time to the armies of the Great Monarch, while foreign nations derived less than 3000 from the Huguenot emigration—a number more than counterbalanced by the 15,000 veteran Irishmen whom, in 1690, the Marshal de Chateaurenaud enrolled, with their arms and baggage, under the Bourbon standard. It shall be our task, in this short paper, to defend the position here occupied, and in start-

ing upon the work we must remember, with the Duke de Noailles,[1] that the fact before us is one of those the history of which must be traced, like that of an individual, from its very origin, and that its transformations must be followed up to its very end.

Calvin was the Luther of France. Numbers of his emissaries came from Geneva, to declaim against the Pope, the clergy, and real or fancied abuses. The French prelates held numerous councils to oppose this invasion, and the universities proscribed heretical books. The parliaments passed many sentences of death, the kings issued many decrees, but the contagion established itself firmly in nearly every province of the kingdom, and in 1559 Paris beheld a "National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France." At this time the two powerful families of Guise and Montmorency shared all the honors and authority which the court could bestow. Several of the Montmorencies embraced "the religion," as the Calvinists designated their sect, at an early period of its existence —Louise, sister of the famous Constable, and married to Gaspard de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon; her three sons, the Admiral Coligny, the Colonel-General d'Andelot, and the Cardinal Odet de Chatillon,[2] Bishop of Bauvais. The Calvinists could also boast of the accession to their party of the Prince de Condé, who became the commander of the Huguenot forces.[3] Francis, Duke of Guise, opposed this triumvirate with a Catholic one, of which the other members were Anne de Montmorency, uncle of Coligny, and the Marshal de Saint-André. This triumvirate took for its device: "One faith, one law, one king." The Queen, Catherine dei Medici, indoctrinated in the principles of Macchiavelli, now favored one of these parties, then another, according as either became too powerful. Her policy served merely to foment their discord; personal hate, political ambition, and fanaticism, were all confusedly mingled by both factions; and this reflection leads us to animadvert on the absurdity of which so many writers are guilty when they apply the term, "war of religion," to every hostility of those days between the orthodox and heretics, and thus make religion responsible for the consequent effusion of blood. The holy name of religion, well observes M. de Falloux,[4] whether

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[1] *Histoire de Mme. de Maintenon et des Principaux Évènements du Règne de Louis XIV.* Paris. 1848.

[2] Odet de Chatillon, Archbishop of Toulouse, and Bishop and Count of Beauvais, was a Cardinal-Deacon, of the Title of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus.

[3] According to Berault-Bercastel, this word is derived from the German *eidgenossen*, signifying "confederated." Some contend that the French innovators assumed this name as the pretended champions of the royal race of Hugues Capet, against the "Lorrains-Guisards," or "Charlins," descendants of Charles of Lorraine.

[4] *Histoire de St. Pie V.*, Paris, 1844.

used in attack or defence, was frequently only a war-cry, well adapted to rally the masses and to captivate their confidence.

On the Ash Wednesday of 1562 the Duke de Guise was at Vassy, in Champagne, and with a number of retainers assisted at Mass in the parish church. During the sacrifice a great noise of psalm-singing in a neighboring farm-house disturbed the worshipers, and the duke sent to the Huguenots a request to be quiet for a quarter of an hour. The messengers were received with insults, and the psalms were vociferated with more energy. Then the indignant Guisards attempted force, and the duke rushed to the spot to preserve peace. Scarcely had he arrived at the door of the farm-house when a heavy stone struck his face, and then, despite his commands, his followers attacked the Huguenots, killing, says the Protestant La Popelinière, forty-two. To his last day Guise insisted that this affair was fortuitous, and that the slaughter was against his will is admitted by the Huguenot sympathizer De Thou, by the Protestant La Popelinière, and by Marcantonio Barbaro, Venetian ambassador at Paris, in his "Relation" to his government for 1565.[1] Throughout the kingdom the Calvinists now demanded vengeance for this massacre, and to this day Protestant polemics urge, in palliation of the atrocities committed by the Huguenots, that those horrors were mere retaliations for the Catholic persecutions initiated at Vassy. But the excesses of the Calvinists had begun before this event. On December 21, 1561, they had driven the bishop, clergy, and nuns from Nîmes, had burnt the holy images in the cathedral, and had turned the edifice into a meeting-house. On December 27th they had destroyed the furniture of the church of St. Medard at Paris, and had tried to burn to death such Catholics as had fled to the belfry. They had dragged thirty-four citizens from the sanctuary, and had exposed them to the outrages of the mob, as we learn from the "Journal" of the minister Deyron, given by Menard in his "History of Nîmes," and also from Mezeray's "Chronological Abridgement."

On the return of Guise to Paris, the citizens received him with enthusiasm; therefore, the jealous Catharine regarded the Huguenot complaints with favor, even resolving to entrust the care of the young King Charles IX. to these sectarians. She wrote from Fontainebleau to Condé: "Come, and save mother and child!" Condé and Coligny wished to profit by the invitation, but, the design transpiring, the Parisians rushed to arms, and by their aid Guise seized the person of the royal child, bidding the mother go

[1] In the *Relations des Ambassadeurs de Venice sur les Affaires de France*, Paris, 1838.

whither she pleased. One day too late the Condean troops arrived at Fontainebleau, and then, realizing that he had gone too far to recede, the prince prepared for civil war, openly enlisted men against his sovereign, made alliances with England and other powers, and seized Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Tours, Grenoble, and many minor towns. The first civil war (1562–63) produced monsters of cruelty on both sides. The Huguenot Baron des Andrets put Auvergne, the Forez, the Lyonnais, Dauphiny, and Provence to fire and sword, and in order to deaden their sensibilities literally bathed his own children in Catholic blood. If we may believe Brantome, one of his sons, Blaise de Montluc, who became a Catholic, rivalled his parent in cruelty. This war terminated with the assassination of Duke Francis by a Huguenot named Poltrot, who died accusing Admiral Coligny as his instigator, and, according to Berault-Bercastel, Coligny could never repel this accusation. Bossuet holds that when the admiral was informed of Poltrot's design, he gave him 120 scudi to enable him to prosecute it and escape. Certainly, in a letter to Queen Catharine, Coligny admitted that "for the last five or six months he did not strongly" oppose the killing of Guise, and he gave as a reason for said implicit compliance that certain persons had tried to kill himself; and in another letter to Catharine he spoke of the death of the duke as "the greatest benefit that could accrue to the kingdom and to the Church of God, and a personal advantage to the sovereign and to the whole family of Coligny." After the murder of Duke Francis de Guise, Catharine made every effort to secure peace, and in 1563 the Edict of Amboise conferred many privileges on the Huguenots, but did not satisfy them.[1] In 1567, encouraged, says Sismondi, by the rebellion of the Scotch Calvinists against

[1] The free exercise of Calvinistic worship was allowed to the lords high-justiciary in their jurisdictions; the same was permitted to the nobles in their houses; the bourgeois could practice Calvinism in one city in each *bailliage;* and wherever the Huguenots were in the majority their worship was permitted. Several years previously Catharine had asked Pope Pius IV. for concessions to the Protestants, then increasing in number. For instance, she requested the abolition of images, the suppression of the exorcism and of the use of the priest's saliva in baptism; she asked for the Communion under both species for the laity, for a simplification of the ceremonies of the Mass, for the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy; "hoping thereby," she said, "to unite the two Churches." Then the Colloquy of Poissy was held, and here Peter Martyr (Vermiglio) and Theodore Beza were summoned by the Navarrese monarch to combat the Cardinal of Lorraine and Claude Despense; but this dispute, like so many others, availed nothing. The Guisards now excited the ambition of the Navarrese by a promise of the restoration of his lost kingdom; therefore he joined the triumvirate of his former enemies, who permeated the court and neutralized the influence of the queen. Resolved to rule at all hazards, the Medicean diplomat made overtures to Condé, and by the advice of L'Hopital allowed the Protestants to freely exercise their form of worship if they did not disturb Catholic devotions. See Cantù, *Storia Universale*, 10th Ital. edit., b. xv, ch. 24.

Queen Mary, the French Huguenots again tried to seize the person of their young king while he was sojourning at Meaux. Foiled in this attempt, they besieged their sovereign in his capital, but were defeated in a bloody contest under the walls and compelled to a truce of six months.

In 1568 the second civil war began. The historian, De Thou, most partial to the Huguenots, admits that their atrocities surpassed everything hitherto experienced during these terrible times. Their bloody onslaughts were directed especially against priests and nuns; the savage De Briquemaut wore a necklace made of the ears of priests whom he had murdered. The exasperated Catholics retaliated, and France became a scene of carnage. Finally, when the Prince de Condé had perished, and the Huguenots had been nearly crushed, the Macchiavellian daughter of the Medici signed, in 1570, a treaty favorable to the Protestants. A general amnesty was proclaimed; the rebels were allowed freedom of worship; their confiscated property was restored; they received the privilege of appointing six judges in the parliaments; and La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charitè sur Loire were accorded them as "cities of safety," with the right of naming the governors and controlling the garrisons. But Charles IX., ever remembering the attempt at Meaux, did not heartily approve of these concessions; hence, the Admiral Coligny sought to conciliate the young monarch, obtaining very soon such an influence that the queen-mother feared for her own. She harkened to Henry de Guise, who yearned to revenge his father's murder, and who planned the death of the supposed assassin. Coligny was only slightly wounded, and Catharine rushed to her son, declaring that the Huguenots were on the eve of open revolt, and that they had sworn the death of his majesty. These charges were rendered probable by the past conduct of the sectarians and by the open threats of their leaders; therefore, Charles determined to forestall his enemies, and on August 24, 1572, occurred the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Henry III., in an endeavor to procure rest for his sorely-tried kingdom, accorded to the Calvinists, in 1576, an edict more favorable than any preceding one, it allowing the public exercise of their worship, granting them full representation in each parliament, and decreeing that such priests and nuns, etc., as had married, were not to be disturbed, while their children were to be held as legitimate. Nevertheless, the Calvinists now constituted themselves into a regular federation, bound, says Simondi, by oath to "a more intimate union, association and fraternity." To counterbalance this, the famous league was devised—a vast association of citizens of every class, under the direction of the Duke de Guise. Henry III., more or less inclined to Calvinism,

procured the assassination of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, in 1588. Then seventy doctors of the Sorbonne decided that Henry had forfeited his crown, and Pope Sixtus V. having excommunicated him, the wretched prince openly threw himself into the arms of his Huguenot friends and of Henry of Navarre, who began a siege of Paris. In 1589 Henry III. was assassinated by Clement, a fanatical friar, instigated by Mme. de Montpensier, a sister of the murdered Guise. Civil war and all its accompaniments again desolated France until the conversion of Henry IV. in 1593. The celebrated Edict of Nantes was issued by Henry IV. in 1598, the parliaments registering it with a clause added by themselves, to the effect that future monarchs would be free to revoke the instrument, if they should deem such action conducive to the good of Church and State. This Edict placed the Protestants on nearly the same footing as the Catholics; the only preference accorded the latter being that their worship could be publicly exercised everywhere, whereas the former could worship publicly only in certain districts. The Catholic worship was to be restored wherever it had been abolished; restitution of all ecclesiastical property stolen by the Huguenots was to be made; freedom of conscience was restored to all; Protestants were to be eligible to all offices. Two documents, also signed by Henry IV., were joined to the Edict. By the first, his majesty promised to pay an annual sum of 140,000 livres toward the support of the Calvinist ministers By the second, he engaged to entrust the Huguenots, for eight years, with the garrisoning of all the places that they then occupied; the sovereign was to pay these garrisons and to appoint Calvinist governors. Among these places thus rendered practically independent were La Rochelle and Montauban, destined to become the last centres of Huguenot arrogance and rebellion. But the Calvinists refused to abide by their engagements, and it required a long and sanguinary struggle to ensure the enforcement of the article of the Edict of Nantes which stipulated for the restoration of the stolen churches and for the freedom of Catholic worship. In 1685, King Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, and until the Revolution of 1789 the public exercise of the "reformed" worship was thereafter forbidden in France.

When Louis XIV. resolved to undo the work which a mistaken kindness and a false statesmanship had prompted his great ancestor to effect, he was influenced by the history of Protestantism in his dominions—the history of a rebellious race, which was the torment of its first benefactor in France, which formed a State within the State, which was ever the refuge of every political malcontent, and a constant menace of civil war. And he proceeded, in accord with the opinion of his people, and in harmony with the

ideas concerning toleration which were in vogue in his day. Certainly those ideas are very different from our own, but our Huguenot friends should make fewer allusions to this matter of religious toleration than is their wont at their annual reunions. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and later when they could, the children of Calvin practiced intolerance to an extent never imagined by the Great Monarch; and in so acting, they but followed the example and injunctions of their master, who, playing the tyrant at Geneva, expelled the sect of the Libertines, burned Servetus at the stake, cut off the head of Gruet, caused the condemnation of Gentile, wanted the Anabaptists to be "treated like brigands," and wrote, in the calm deliberations of his study, pages concerning the treatment of "heretics" which might shame Nero or Diocletian.[1] And do not give us, ye gentlemen of Huguenot descent, the *argumentum ad hominem*. Even were we to grant the truth of your assertion that the Catholics of two centuries ago persecuted as bitterly as any Calvinist of them all, the fact remains that your progenitors should have set the benighted papists a better example. The Huguenots posed as reformers of religion; they claimed that their religion was better than ours. Therefore, they should have shown themselves the better men. Finally, one may ask with an eminent writer of the last century, as the Catholics were in possession, why did the Huguenots trouble them?[2]

Coming now to a consideration of the alleged damage accruing to France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we propose to show, firstly, that less than 50,000 persons emigrated because of that procedure. Our Huguenot mutual admiration societies proclaim to their fellow-citizens that their glorious ancestors fled from French Catholic persecution, to the number of more than two millions, and to prove this assertion, they can adduce no better authority than a certain "Letter of a Patriot" written in the eighteenth century by an unknown hand, but which appears to have been the work of Voltaire.[3] Now it is a remarkable fact that as we leave this interested eighteenth century pamphleteer, and take up the Huguenot writers in chronological order backward from his time to that of the edict itself, we find the alleged emigrants growing smaller by degrees and beautifully less. Thus Limier[4] puts the number at 800,000; Basnage[5] at less than 400,000; La Martiniere[6]

[1] Michaelis, *Serveti Defensio Orthodoxæ Fidei contra Errores, ubi docetur Jure Gladii coercendos Esse Hæreticos*, edit. 1554.

[2] De Caveyrac, *Apologie de Louis XIV. et de Son Conseil sur la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, Paris, 1758.

[3] *Lettre d'un Patriote sur la Tolerance Civile des Protestants de France.*

[4] *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, vol. iv., p. 289.

[5] *Unité de l'Eglise.*

[6] *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, b. lviii.

at 300,000; Larrey[1] at 200,000; the contemporary Benoit[2] also at 200,000. But let us hearken to the Huguenot Benoit as he describes the severe precautions taken by the French government to prevent the expatriation of his fellow-religionists, and then judge whether the probable number of the successful was greater than 50,000. "The most secret passes at the frontiers were watched; archers patrolled the high-roads, and other soldiers searched the fields. Rewards were promised to those who would give up a fugitive, and punishment threatened to all who harbored him. The coasts were watched with incredible vigilance; all ships were visited by order of the admiralty; even the fishing smacks were searched; this perquisition was so exact, that it was almost impossible to escape." Barthélemy, who follows the statistics of Benoit with a most critical, though impartial eye,[3] finds that the Huguenots sought asylum only in Switzerland, Brandenburg, the Margravate of Bareth, Denmark, Lunebourg, Hesse, Holland and England; Switzerland was the natural refuge for those who fled from the Lyonnais, the Bourbonnais, Dauphiny, and Languedoc; and 12,100 seems to Barthélemy all that the calculations of Benoit assigned as its quota. About 600 found an asylum in Bareth. When Benoit says that "several thousand found refuge in Hesse," it is evident that the "several" cannot mean more than two or three, from the fact that he assigns to Brandenburg "a very much larger number." Voltaire himself not claiming for Brandenburg more than 20,000, a number which our knowledge of the Sage of Ferney, "writing under the eyes of the great Frederick," justifies us in diminishing by one half. Denmark, being profoundly Lutheran, did not wish any accession of Calvinists, but the queen allowed about fifty families, or 200 persons, to enter. When Benoit comes to the Huguenots of Holland and England, he is very chary of details, but so far as the Netherlands are concerned, we may accept his assertion that there was a project (not fully carried out) to erect a thousand houses for the immigrants, as indicative of the arrival of about 10,000. In regard to England, observes Barthélemy, if her parliamentary registers are reliable, and if the word of William III. in his proclamation of 1689 is to be accepted, not more than 6000 Huguenots there found asylum. As to the Huguenots received in Brandenburg, we have said that Voltaire's estimate of 20,000 should be reduced by one-half, and principally because the Protestant Ancillon, writing on the spot and at the time,[4] accounts only for 9633. Now let the reader consult the above figures taken

[1] *Hist. d'Angleterre, Irlande*, etc., vol. iv., p. 664.
[2] *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii., pt. 3, p. 1014.
[3] *Erreurs*, vol. ii., p. 195.
[4] *Histoire des Réfugiés Français dans les États de Brandenburg*, Berlin, 1690.

from the estimates of a bitter and contemporary partisan of the Huguenot refugees, and he will account for only 48,900. But we cannot close this portion of our article without observing that our Huguenot sympathizers are guilty of a curious freak when they assign 2,000,000 as the number of Calvinists fleeing from the consequences of an edict published in a country which never counted more than a million of those sectarians. When the French Protestants asked the aid of Queen Elizabeth of England, and tendered her their weapons against their native land, they estimated their numbers, "of every kind and condition," at one million;[1] and certainly they would not have falsely represented their population as so trifling, when they were asking a foreign sovereign "to receive the aid of so many soldiers that she would acknowledge their services to be of no small gain." And when the Huguenots threatened Henry IV. because of his delay in issuing the celebrated edict, the monarch ordered De Vic and De Calignon to tell them that "they should be contented with the articles of Nerac and Flex, since the number of their co-religionists *was larger in* 1560 *and* 1577 *than it was at that time.*"[2] Finally, Benoit himself, complaining, in 1680, of the imminent loss of their privileges by the Calvinists, speaks of only "one million as being about to be deprived of said concessions."[3]

Let us now examine the assertion that France lost immense wealth by the emigration of her Huguenots. This loss has been placed at two hundred millions of francs, said to have been carried out of the country by these thrifty citizens. We shall spare the reader all monetary calculations and theories, and merely draw his attention to the well-known pecuniary condition of the emigrants. It is admited by Benoit that so great was the poverty of the immense majority, that they were, for a long time, dependent on the charity of the peoples who admitted them into their territories; this writer details the collections taken up in their behalf, and concerning any sums of money carried by them from home. he says simply that "several had a little money, some more, and some less." Another Huguenot writer, La Martinière, tells us that "in England thousands of the refugees were destitute." Ancillon says that so abject was the poverty of the Brandenburg contingent, that "the elector was forced to care for two thousand in a building erected for that purpose." And this poverty was quite natural, for there were very few "gentlemen" or thriving artisans among the exiles; and such of them as had amassed some money, and then had it in transportable shape, had been obliged

[1] Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Chatelleraud in 1597.
[2] Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Vendome.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, b. xvi., p. 414.

to spend a great part of it, says Benoit, "in corrupting the guards, admiralty officers, etc.," that they might escape. Again, the few who possessed immovable property were unable to sell it, as a royal decree had invalidated such action. Finally, the registers and other documents of the day prove that in all France there were then only five hundred millions of francs in specie. Now the France of that day had a population of twenty millions; therefore the specie in circulation was twenty-five francs per head. Even supposing, therefore, which is absurd, that the emigrants were as opulent as those who remained in the kingdom, one million and two hundred and fifty thousand francs would have been their quota of specie. This calculation is based, of course, on the supposition that our estimate of the number of refugees—50,000—is correct; but even were we to accept the estimate of Benoit—200,000—the exportation of specie would be only five millions of francs—a sum which France could easily afford, considering the quantity of blood which the Huguenot emigration spared to the veins of her faithful children.

But we are told that the manufacturing interests of France suffered greatly by the emigration of the Huguenots. What does not exist cannot suffer. Now at the date of the revocation the manufactures of France were as yet only in the state of initiatory formation; Colbert, whom Mazarin had recommended to Louis XIV. just as Richelieu had recommended him to Louis XIII. for the glory of France, had only then started French commerce. Hitherto the French had gone abroad for nearly all articles of luxury, and even for many of prime necessity. The tapestries of Flanders had been celebrated for centuries before Beauvais and the Gobelins thought of rivalling them. The fine cloths of Spain, England, and Holland had long been used by the French gentry, and it was not until 1680 that Louviers began to imitate them; the cloths of Sedan had been imitated from foreign productions for many years. And similar admissions must be made concerning nearly every article for the production of which France is now famous. It is worthy of note that Louis XIV. instructed his ambassador to the English court, M. de Comminges, to gather all possible information and hints concerning materials, manufactures, etc; also that he so realized the need of foreign aid in which his country then labored in this regard, that he attracted foreign workmen by liberal treatment, especially by limiting their term of apprenticeship to one year, and by granting to them French naturalization.[1] And at the very time when foreigners were thus invited to aid at their birth, if not indeed to create, French manu-

[1] Letters-patent for the manufacture at Sedan in 1666, art. 167; and for the manufactures at Elbeuf.

facturing genius, Calvinistic operatives were being excluded from the national establishments—a proof that their work was certainly not needed or even appreciated.[1] Such reflections must convince the reader that the influx of Huguenot operatives was of no very great advantage to the lands that welcomed them, especially since those countries knew much more about their trades, etc., than they themselves knew. M. de Caveyrac, replying, in 1758, to the famous letter of the Huguenot "patriot" already cited, refutes the assertion of that would-be statistician to the effect that the Revocation entailed a surprising decrease in the commerce of Nimes, Lyons, Marseilles, and other great cities of France. He shows that Nimes so increased in size and prosperity after the alleged lamentable event, that a new *enceinte* was deemed necessary, its faubourgs having extended out to the, but lately-distant, walls of the old Romans. The embellishments then effected in the city, at a cost of 1,200,000 francs, he deemed worthy of record, "lest their beauty might lead posterity to believe them to have been a work of the time of Augustus," and the population had doubled. Lyons had 69,000 inhabitants when the Edict was revoked, and when Caveyrac wrote it possessed 200,000. Marseilles, in 1758, was three times as rich and populous as it was in 1685. The city of Rouen had so advanced in manufacturing enterprise that the surrounding peasantry abandoned the cultivation of the soil in order to work in her factories; and a governmental decree had to be issued in 1723 closing these establishments from July 1st to September 15th, so that some attention might be given to the crops. The cities of Lavaur and Puy had become rich, thanks to the labors of their respective bishops, Fontanges and Le Franc de Pompignan, in fostering and co-operating in—the latter with his own hands—the manufacture of silk.[2] By adducing such instances as these, Caveyrac replied to the "patriot" who had asserted that "the oppression of consciences had ruined French manufactures," and they should furnish material for meditation to those who con-

[1] At Rouen, in 1665, only one operative in sixteen could be a Protestant; the manufacturers of Amiens, Autun, and Dijon, would employ no heretic. Paris allowed one Calvinist workman to fifteen Catholics.

[2] John George Le Franc de Pompignan, Bishop of Puy, a brother of the poet of this name, suffered from the calumnies of Voltaire and the Encyclopedistic school; therefore, it is not surprising that history shows him to have been as pious as he was talented. Taking the bobbin in hand, without quitting the pulpit, he sowed the seed of wealth, says Caveyrac, where he had sown those of religion. "In order to establish the manufacture of silk in a mountainous district where only the name of the thing was known, the enterprising founders had to be encouraged; the government was to be rendered favorable to the work, exemptions were to be obtained, emulation was to be excited, confidence was to be inspired, a new people had to be created and rendered apt to the delicate work. M. de Pompignan surmounted every difficulty, for virtue, when united with talent, is ever triumphant."

template an enlightenment of the public at the next reunions of Huguenot posterity.

We need scarcely do more than refer to the figures which we have established as indicative of the real number of the Huguenots whom the Revocation drove from France, in order to show that this emigration produced very little effect on the military strength of the country. Certainly, of all the evils, if any were entailed, accruing to the kingdom from the criminated measure, this loss of human war material was the slightest, whether the advantages gained be considered or the force that was sacrificed. The 50,000 emigrants may be regarded as forming 10,000 families, each of which would probably consist of a grandparent, a father and mother, and two children; having, therefore, probable sex considered, as well as age, only one person capable or likely to bear arms. Here we perceive that, at the very most, France lost 3333 men capable of fighting her battles. But a more exact method of calculation should be adopted. The 500,000 men of whom the armies of Louis XIV. generally consisted, formed 2½ per cent. of his 20,000,000 of subjects. If, therefore, the 50,000 emigrants had remained at home, and had furnished their proper quota to the armed forces of the nation, the flag would have waved over 1250 more soldiers. And even if we were to admit, with Benoit, that 200,000 persons left the country, their 2½ per cent. share of the military burdens would have enrolled under the standards only 5000 men—a loss, as we have noted, thrice compensated by the 15,000 Irishmen enlisted by Chateaurenaud. The minister Jurieu, a virulent Calvinist, and one ever eager to discover or to fancy punishments falling on France because of the Revocation, says nothing of any regiments, or even companies, of Huguenot refugees in foreign service. Certainly Ancillon assigns enough of these emigrants to the Elector of Brandenburg to form a company of body-guards, one of mounted grenadiers, two of musketeers, and three regiments of infantry; but when this writer enters into details, he accounts for only 9633 refugees in Brandenburg. And if so many of the Huguenots entered the army of the elector, what must we think of "those desert lands of the Prussian king turned into a fertile paradise by the labors of the refugees?" Whence came these agriculturists? And how are we to account for those Huguenots who, according to Ancillon, "formed the foundation, by their industry, of the power of this wise and redoubtable monarch?"[1]

[1] Here we may note that the pretended "patriot" says "that at that time Berlin alone contained more than 20,000 Frenchmen whom despair had sent out of their country." Now Voltaire, to whom a zero more or less was a small matter when it

The reader may expect us to notice the charge made by philosophistic historians, who, following in the wake of the Duke de Saint-Simon, assert that the noble Mme. de Maintenon was among the foremost in procuring the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We need only say that La Chaise and Louvois, the most prominent instigators of the measure, were no friends of the pre eminently charitable and sweet-minded countess, and that Voltaire, the most bitter foe of everything that was dear to her heart, declared: "She had nothing to do with it; that is a certain fact." Again, her correspondence indicates no intervention in this matter on her part, whereas it is filled with recommendations to her brother and other governors to be tolerant to the Calvinists.[1] We find her rejoicing at the conversion of heretics through persuasion and instruction, as when she writes: "In one month a hundred thousand souls have been converted in Guienne; the town of Saintes has abjured through conviction. The king writes daily to the bishops to send missionaries everywhere to instruct and console. . . . . Ought we not to rejoice at this?" We find her, after the emigration of the Huguenots, advising a firm and prudent policy toward those who remained, but she expresses no rigorous sentiments. Naturally, we find her refuting the assertion that the emigration would ruin commerce and industry, and we are not surprised that she rejoices at the defeat of the Camisards, for they were rebels, sold to the foreigner. But not a word do we discover which can be distorted into an expression of desire for severity toward the Huguenots.

REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.

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served his purposes to use it one way or the other, gives only 10,000 Frenchmen to Berlin. The truth will be more readily found if we remember that the census of 1755 gives 6654 as the number of Huguenots and their descendants in Berlin.

[1] *Mme. de Maintenon d'après sa Correspondance Authentique*, Paris, 1887

IRISH SAINTS IN ITALY.

THE position of Ireland towards the universal Church in the early centuries of our era is almost unique in ecclesiastical history. A remote island on the confines of civilization, itself barely redeemed from the darkness of paganism, it begins to irradiate back the light it has just received on the lands nearer its fountain-head, forming the older Christendom. The zeal of its recently converted population overflows the bounds of its encircling seas to meet and combat counter-eddies of new-born heresy and reviving paganism in far distant regions of the continent. To the activity of the Irish missionary monks, whose inundation of other countries was compared by St. Bernard to a flood, were due such great foundations as St. Gall in Switzerland, Jouarre and Jumièges in France, Wurtzburg and Cologne in Germany, together with many other houses in Italy and elsewhere, famous through the Middle Ages for their influence on the religious history of Europe. Ireland gave a Bishop to Lucca in the sixth century, St. Frediano, whose footsteps we shall follow later on; another in the seventh century to Taranto, relapsed into paganism, and reformed by this second apostle, St. Cathaldus; and in the eighth century an Archbishop to Salzburg in St. Virgilius (Fearghil), who converted the Carinthians to Christianity.

It is this curious and little-read chapter of hagiology which Miss Stokes, with eminent qualifications for the task, has selected for illustration, giving us in her recent work, "Six Months in the Apennines, or a Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in Italy;" what we trust is but an instalment of a series of similar volumes on the religious achievements of her compatriots in other parts of Europe. The spirit of pilgrimage which caused a reflux of religion towards the East, later developed into the wonderful chivalric Epos of the Middle Ages, was, as she points out, the initial motive power which started these saintly itinerants.

"If we take (she says) the lives of these Irish teachers chronologically, we find that many of them set forth as pilgrims to the Holy Land or to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs in Rome or elsewhere. Crossing the continent on foot, they fell in with mountaineers and dwellers in the wilderness or in the depths of the forests through which they pierced their way, who had never heard of Christ, or who, if they had been visited by some earlier apostle, had again relapsed into heathenism. And thus the missionary system of the Celtic Church was a development of the

pilgrim customs of the early Christians. These holy men, having made their pilgrimage, returned to found schools and churches where they had seen most need of such, and where, therefore, their vocation lay."

The wandering spirit which at that date possessed nations and individuals, was thus sanctified by piety, and made conducive to the diffusion of religious truth.

Nor was it less profitable to the cause of material progress. The foundation of a monastic house was in those days generally the first step towards the formation of a civil community, and furnished the nucleus from which it sprang. Institutions sheltered under the ægis of religion formed the only oases of peace in a world of rapine and violence, and arts and industries found a refuge nowhere save under the shadow of the Cross. The religious houses were not alone busy workshops, the centres of production to the neighborhood, but great schools of technical education, where the methods of the various handicrafts were preserved and handed down in the traditions of the establishment. Settlers were attracted by the advantages and immunities thus offered, trade followed in the track of industry, and the town was the creation of the convent. On this phase of mediæval society some curious side-lights are thrown in the volume before us, and we see how the wandering Irish monk, Columbanus, became the founder of the picturesque Apennine town of Bobio.

Another development of early Christian devotion, the anchorite life, is illustrated in Miss Stokes' pages. At a time when the temptations of the world were more feared, if not more formidable, than at the present day, the monastery itself did not offer sufficient seclusion for the contemplative spirit, and permanent or temporary refuges were sought in the recesses of the mountains and the hollows of the rocks by many later imitators of the first solitaries. Assisted by local tradition, our authoress has succeeded in tracking many of these hermits to their hiding places, and in identifying the very caves which witnessed their austerities so many centuries ago. It has been with her a labor of love to trace out all their memorials, and thus revivify for us that spirit of earnestness and simplicity which led them to follow the inspired promptings of piety so far afield.

The method pursued by her in the development of her theme is to give in every instance the legendary life of the Saint forming the immediate subject of her study, compiled from the most authoritative sources, proceeding then to illustrate it by an account of her own original researches, archæological and topographical, on the scene of his labors. The life of San Frediano, Bishop of Lucca, identified by many with St. Finnian, of Moville, is the earliest in

date. Its supposed period from A.D. 500 to A.D. 588, covered some of the darkest hours of Italian history, and the Saint's visit to the country coincided with the terrible famine consequent on the Gothic Wars. He arrived as a simple pilgrim, and remained as a hermit, sharing the solitude of those holy men who had made of the rocky fastnesses of the Monte Pisano a second Thebaïd. But the fame of his sanctity spread from this retreat to the neighboring town of Lucca, and its people, the ranks of whose native clergy had been thinned by war and its consequences, compelled him to accept its vacant bishopric. This was in 565, three years before a fresh disaster befell northern Italy in the irruption of the Lombards. These semi-barbarians professed the Arian heresy, and inflicted on the Church the most tremendous persecution, which, according to Gregory the Great, she had yet undergone.

"Cities (he says) are despoiled, fortresses levelled, churches burned, monasteries for men and women destroyed, and the entire country abandoned by the tillers of the soil, so that the whole land is left to solitude without inhabitants who once lived there in multitudes, but whose place is now filled by wild beasts."

The city of Lucca was amongst those destroyed, and it was the bishop's task to rebuild its walls and reconstruct its cathedral. To him, therefore, it owes its present aspect, as it had been previously under the rule of Rome in her palmy days, a much larger and more considerable place. Over its new masters, the Arian Lombards, the Irish bishop obtained such influence that many were converted to Catholicism and co-operated actively in his good works. He was thus enabled to build or restore no fewer than twenty-eight churches in different parts of Tuscany, including three in Lucca itself. These were San Martino, San Giovanni Battista, and San Frediano, the latter originally dedicated by him to the three deacons, Stephen, Laurence, and Vincent, standing close by the site of the Roman amphitheatre, and doubtless built out of its fragments. The whole religious organization of the country, destroyed by the successive waves of calamity that had swept over it, had thus to be re-created by him, as society was gradually reconstituted on a permanent basis after the last barbarian invasion.

That the temporal interests of his flock were also the subject of his care is proved by the nature of the most celebrated of the legendary miracles ascribed to him. This was no less than the diversion of the waters of the Serchio, previously liable to overflow its bed and cause disastrous inundations, into a new channel, where they flowed with a more equable current. The prodigy is described as follows by St. Gregory in the 9th chapter of the 3d book of his "Dialogues:"

"Nor shall I be silent on this also, which was related to me by

the Venerable Venanzio, Bishop of Luni. I heard two days ago, for he told me, that at Lucca, a city not far distant from his own, there had lived a bishop of marvellous power, named Frediano, of whom the inhabitants relate this great miracle: That the River Auser (Serchio), running close under the walls of the city, and often bursting from its bed with great force, did the greatest damage to its inhabitants, so that they, moved by necessity, strove to divert its course into another channel, but failed in the attempt. Then a man of God, Frediano, made them give him a little rake, and advancing to where the stream flowed, knelt in prayer. He afterwards raised himself to his feet, and commanded the river that it should follow him, and dragging the rake behind him the waters, leaving their accustomed course, ran after it, making a new bed wherever the Saint marked the way. Whence thus, ever following on, it ceased to do damage in the fields and among the fruit raised by the husbandmen."

This passage was written not long after the event it chronicles, since Frediano died in 588, and the "Dialogues" were in existence between 590 and 604, as they were sent to Queen Theodolinda during the pontificate of the author. The incident, with all its attendant circumstances, has been often represented in art, and Miss Stokes' pencil reproduces for us two pictures of which it forms the subject, one by Fra Filippo Lippi, the other by Aspertini, a pupil of Francia. The legend, which was evidently firmly believed in by contemporaries, admits of a simple and natural explanation. The Saint, who was doubtless far beyond his ignorant people in all the sciences of his day, traced, as we may suppose, a line for the proposed canal, thus achieving by what seemed to them miraculous means the purpose that had baffled their own misdirected efforts. This is the more probable, as he is said to have worked an identical miracle in Ayrshire, turning the Carnoch in similar fashion from its bed. He was evidently a man skilled in the use of tools and all manual arts, for we read that when preaching in the same country "he made with his own hands a cross of marvellous workmanship in honour of blessed Brigida, the Virgin."

Miss Stokes, in addition to visiting and sketching the churches founded by him in Lucca and many parts of the surrounding country, climbed to the Rupe Cavo or Rock Cave on Monte Pisano, where his hermit life had been passed. A small church, consecrated in 1214, stands close to the cave, which was still occupied in 1243, as an existing document attests, by five hermits of the Augustinian order, with a prior at their head. This fact gives color to the statement, found in many early writers, that St. Augustine himself visited and passed some time in these hermit-

ages on one of his journeys through Italy. Such a probability adds much to the historic interest of the ancient rock dwelling, the author's description of which is the first published for the benefit of English readers. The little church was reached by a steep ascent of about an hour from Ripafratta, and in the enclosure close by was the entrance to the ancient hermitage.

"A great cave (she says), formed by enormous overhanging rocks, garlanded with every imaginable creeper, was before me. The monks had taken advantage of this rock, using it for their roof, building low walls beneath it, which, running into the depths of the cavern, divided it into sections or chambers. The doors were square-headed, and the windows were most curious in their construction—what architects call squints—so that from the inside the inhabitant of the cell could see any one approaching the door from outside without being visible himself. Unfortunately, the darkness was so great that it was impossible to photograph beneath the roof of the cave. On the upper story, as it were, of the cliff, there was a second and even grander cave, in the walls of which, about six feet from the ground, were three distinct minor caves or holes, exactly like that of the bed of St. Kevin at Glendalough. How far these caves penetrated into the rock I could not discover.

"Here, then, was what I had been seeking—a primitive hermitage, a rock cave, an anchorite cell, such as I had read of as existing in Egypt and Syria; such as I had seen in Ireland, but never before on the continent. The magnificent view from the terrace in front of the church must have been that visible from the caves at the time our Irish saint lived there, before it was intercepted by that building. More visible from the great height on which I now stood than they had been from below, the multitudinous ranges of the Carrara mountains rose peak above peak, their semi-translucent, clear-cut marble fissures striking into the soft blue depths of heaven, always seeming to suggest a city of shadowy palaces built by immortal hands; next came the forest-clad mountains among which the eye longed to linger as it passed downwards until it rested by the full-flowing, silver flood of the River Serchio, threading its serpentine way through the valley until it disappears in the narrow chasm that separates it from Pisa."

The beauty of the scene unrolled before them entered doubtless, unconsciously, as an elevating influence into the lives of the anchorites occupying these cells, yet had, we may be sure, little part in determining their choice of an abode. The love of mountain scenery, perhaps a symptom of reaction from excessive civilization, is a passion of entirely modern growth, and to the mediæ-

val mind it conveyed rather a sense of horror, perhaps from the physical privations, hardships and dangers necessarily in those days associated with a sojourn in its midst. The heights, now occupied by palatial hotels, were then abandoned to the bear and wolf for their habitation, and all the conveniences and pleasures of life were left behind in forsaking the plains. Thus the abode of luxury in one age was that of penance in another, and the eyrie of the hermit of the past would be an object of envy to the worldling of to-day.

The Italian career of St. Finnian of Moville was followed, at a comparatively short interval, by that of his compatriot, St. Columbanus. Born like him of princely or royal parents, nearly half a century later, about the year 543, he, too, received his education in several Irish monasteries, completing his studies for the priesthood in the celebrated one of Bangor, County Down. Here he became inspired with the conviction that he was called to preach the Gospel in other lands, and having, with some difficulty, succeeded in persuading his superior of the genuineness of his vocation, was allowed to depart on his wanderings, taking with him twelve other monks as his companions. One of these was St. Gallus, who founded the far-renowned monastery of St. Gall on Lake Constance, and two others. Lua, or Potentino, and Sigisbert established religious houses, the one in Neustria, the other at Disentis.

Gaul, then divided among Chilperic, Sigisbert and Gontran, the three sons of Clothair, into the kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy, was the first field of Columban's apostolic labors on the continent. Having obtained from Sigisbert, King of Austrasia, one of his many converts, permission to found a monastery in his dominions, he chose a wild spot on the confines of Burgundy and Alsace, where the ruins of the old castle of Anegrates dominated a defile of the Vosges. Here he composed the rule of his order, founded on that of Bangor, its mother house, and two subsequent foundations, those of Luxeuil and Fontaines, were peopled by the white-robed monks owning allegiance to the ancient Hibernian community.

But the activities of St. Columbanus were more sorely needed elsewhere, and having been expelled from Burgundy by Thierry II., and the famous Brunehault on account of the freedom with which he rebuked the King's irregular life, he with his companions spent three years in evangelizing eastern Switzerland and the country about the southern shores of Lake Constance, after which he passed into Italy and assisted in the conversion of the Arian Lombards. Their king, Agilulph, who had ascended the throne in the year 590, that of St. Gregory's election to the pontificate, was already well disposed to the faith of Rome, en-

deared to him as that of his consort Theodolinda. The preaching of Columbanus gave the final impetus to his convictions and numbers of his people were converted with him. The scholarly acquirements of the Irish monk rendered him a powerful champion of the orthodox faith and a treatise in which the arguments in support of it were ably marshalled, established his fame as a controversialist of the first order.

But the craving for solitude, so strong in the religious of those days, again asserted itself and Columbanus began to weary of the busy and brilliant life of the Italian cities. His royal patron anxious at least to retain him in his own dominions, promised him a site for a new foundation in any portion of them he might select, and one Jucundus, a chance visitor to the court, having given him a romantic description of the wild but fertile region surrounding Bobio, he claimed from Agilulph the fulfilment of his pledge.

The solitariness of the site promised him the ideal of monastic seclusion of which he was in search, for only the scattered huts of a few poor shepherds were to be seen where the ruins of an ancient basilica still stood in a gorge of the Apennines at the head of the valley of the Trebbia. The lordship of a demesne, extending to a distance of four miles in every direction from the ancient church, was conferred on Columbanus by a royal decree which has been preserved and may be translated as follows:

"The most excellent king, Flavius Agilulphus, to the venerable Columbanus or to his associates:

"We deem that we get a kindly return from Almighty God if the priests in our holy kingdom are enabled to fulfil the vows made in their holy ordination. Therefore by our general order we give to your holy fatherhood the basilica of the holy apostle Peter chief of the apostles, situated at a place called Bobio, with permission in the name of God to dwell there and possess it, and four miles round in every direction either cultivated or uncultivated, except the half of the well which we conceded in a former time to Sondarit; otherwise we grant all those territories which we have named above of the basilica of St. Peter, either to you or to those of yours who have been devoted to you for a possession for all time; for that purpose we charge all our generals, governors of castles, and our officers altogether, that none of them presume to act at variance at any time with the order of our letter. And you, as far as you are able, pray to God night and day for the safety and stability of our kingdom. Given at Mediolanum, in the palace, in the eighth[1] year of our most happy reign.

[1] [Before the old document was transcribed, the numerals, doubtless from the fading of the ink, had become almost illegible and for UIII. we should certainly read XXIII.—Ed.]

"I. Liunus, wrote this at the command of our Lord the king, and of Agiderius his secretary."

The district thus conferred upon the future monastery was then covered with forest affording shelter for the secret practice of the ancient rites of paganism, proscribed by law and abandoned in less remote places. Hence not only the country but its inhabitants had to be reclaimed, imposing a double task of amelioration on the new lords of the soil. The rebuilding of the ruinous church and erection of a monastery from the foundation, was a herculean labor in a region without roads or means of transport and whose uncouth inhabitants furnished no skilled laborers to co-operate in the work. Legend illustrates the danger as well as difficulty encountered in its prosecution in the story of a ferocious bear which rushed out of the thicket and killed one of the oxen engaged in transporting a large log of wood. Columbanus, however, drawn to the spot by the outcries of the driver, made the sign of the cross over the savage beast, commanding him at the same time to put his neck under the yoke in the place of the animal he had slain. The bear not only obeyed on that occasion, but continued for the remainder of his days to submit to be harnessed as a docile beast of burden.

After settling at Bobio, Columbanus spent much of his time in a natural grotto, high up in the face of a cliff among the mountains above the monastery, and here in a small oratory dedicated to St. Michael, he died in 615 at the age of 72. His memory is still held in reverence by the peasantry of the neighborhood and miraculous virtue is attributed to an impression in the rock believed to be the imprint of his hand and resorted to for the cure of diseased joints and limbs.

His remains were eventually transferred to Pavia, but the old church of Bobio where they first rested, preserves a relic of his skull enshrined in a silver bust and is rich in other memorials of him. His knife, bell, and wooden drinking-cup are there shown as objects of veneration, and a series of archaic bas-reliefs on his sarcophagus, commemorates the events of his life with all the *naivete* of primitive art. These designs reproduced by Miss Stokes with graphic fidelity, are of high antiquarian interest. Her discovery of another venerable memorial of the past we will let her narrate in her own words:

"You will remember (she says) that in the diploma of Agilulph, granting the land of Columban for his monastery, the king only granted him the use of half of a well, on the ground that he had granted the other half to some former occupant. When I descended into the garden, I was careful to ask the Parroco to show me the oldest well of the monastery, and what was my delight

when he led me up through a vineyard to the old boundary wall and there I saw a semi-circular tank, being, indeed, the half well mentioned in the diploma. It projects from the ancient wall of the monastery, which cuts the tank in two parts and the marble of its parapet being reddish in color, or white, veined with red and black, showing against the green, gray, and bronze hues of the moss-grown wall behind with the garlanded vine trellis at one side combine to form a lovely picture for a painter. On asking the Parrocco why the well was semi-circular, he said the other half was outside the wall for the use of the townspeople and so, indeed, I found it when he led me out into the street into the Piazza S. Lorenzo. Upwards of twelve hundred years had passed since, in the eighth year of his reign, king Agilulph had made this curious stipulation in his grant."

This is indeed a strange example of the long survival of custom in Italy. In the countless changes of government and dynasty which have revolutionized the country since, the very fact of Lombard domination has passed into shadowy background of history, yet here we find rights and habits of the people ruled to this day by a charter conferred by one of the kings of those barbarian invaders.

The interest concentrated on the stories of Saints Frediano and Columbanus, the subjects of Miss Stokes' two principal essays, is not diminished when we come to the shorter chapters in which she treats with equal fidelity and care the lives of their fellow-laborers in the same vineyard. The history of St. Sillan, an Irish mediæval pilgrim who died in Lucca, when returning from Rome, is illustrated by a drawing of his beautiful sepulchral effigy, still preserved among the artistic treasures of that city. The ecclesiastical lore, of which Ireland was then the nursery and fountain-head, is exemplified in the visit to the court of Charlemagne of Clemens and Albinus, "two Scots of Ireland," as they are styled by the monk of St. Gall, who recorded the event in the ninth century. These learned travellers, said to have been "incomparably skilled in human learning and in the Holy Scriptures," used to cry to the crowds flocking to the churches, "If any one is desirous of wisdom let him come to us and receive it, for we have it to sell." This form of self-advertisement was not, as it might be deemed at the present day, a device of charlatanry to court notoriety, for Charles when he invaded Italy, summoned Albinus to the city of Pavia, assigning to him the monastery of St. Augustine, that he might instruct the people, in the work of whose conversion from heresy so many of his compatriots had labored with success,

A still more important part was played in the same city, in

combating the later movement of the iconoclasts, by the learned monk Dungal, whose treatise in refutation of their errors, written in about 825, is still extant. So great was his fame as a teacher, that an edict of Lothair, issued in that year, ordered all students from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Asti, Genoa and Como, to assemble at Pavia in order to prosecute their studies under his superintendence. The acquirements of this remarkable man in secular learning are indicated by his letter, written at the request of Charlemagne, to explain the extraordinary phenomenon of two solar eclipses in the year 810. The Irish monk, then living as a recluse at St. Denis, begins by setting forth the then accepted Ptolemaic theory of the heavens, and goes on to account for the eclipses of the sun and moon, by saying that the zodiac, or space through which the planets revolve, is bounded by two lines, carefully distinguished, however, as imaginary ones.

"A third line drawn between them (he then says) is called the ecliptic, because when the sun and moon during the revolution, happen to be in the same straight line in the plane of this ecliptic, an eclipse of one or the other must necessarily take place; of the sun, if the moon overtake it in its course, *ei succedat;* of the moon, if at the time it happen to be opposite to the sun. Wherefore the sun is never eclipsed except when the moon is in its thirtieth day, and in like manner the moon is never eclipsed except when it is near its fifteenth day. For only then it comes to pass, that the moon, when it is full, being in a straight line with the earth opposite to the sun, receives the shadow of the earth; while in the other case, when the moon overtakes the sun, or is in conjunction, it deprives the earth of the sun's light by its interposition. Therefore, when the sun is eclipsed, the sun itself suffers nothing, only we are robbed of its light; but the moon suffers a real loss by not receiving the sun's light through which it is enabled to dispel our darkness."

Dungal is connected with Bobio by his bequest to the monastery of his theological library, containing many rare and valuable works, copies of which were by the diligence of the monks diffused over the rest of Italy. From this fact it is concluded that he spent his closing years in that retreat, and is buried as Bishop Healy[1] opines, in the crypt, with the other Irish saints and holy men who rest there.

The three concluding subjects of Miss Stokes' series form a group apart, linked together by their associations with the ecclesi-

[1] Insula Sanctorum, or Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars. By the Most Rev. John Healy, D.D. London, Burns & Oates, 1890.

astical history of Fiesole. Hither came an Irish pilgrim, Donatus of Scotia, accompanied by his faithful disciple, Andrew, at the moment that its inhabitants, having lost their pastor, were so divided as to the choice of his successor that civil war between the rival parties seemed imminent. As Donatus and Andrew were seen approaching the cathedral where a number of people were assembled in prayer for divine guidance in this emergency, the bells were heard to ring, and the lamps seen to kindle of their own accord, while a voice from heaven interpreted the prodigy as signifying that the stranger was their pre-ordained bishop. The dignity was forthwith conferred upon him despite all his remonstrances to the contrary, and he was enthroned and saluted, as the choice of the people. His companion shared his fortunes, and eventually founded a monastery on his own account at San Martino a Mensola, which was subsequently converted into a Benedictine Abbey.

Andrew's sister, the third of the trio, had remained behind in her native land, but was miraculously transported to her brother's deathbed to console him with a last adieu. She became the foundress of a church dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, at Lobaco in the Apennines, and spent the last years of her life in a cave among the desolate heights above it. Here after a life of austerity, she died at a very advanced age in about 870, and the church of Santa Brigida, built at or near the spot commemorates her name. The site of her hermitage, moreover, attracted so many pilgrims and devotees, that the neighborhood, formerly inhabited only by wild beasts, was reclaimed and peopled.

Italy, which we are accustomed to consider in its later aspect, as a centre of culture and refinement to the world at large, is thus shown to have been, in its earlier ages greatly indebted to the learning and piety of Irish pilgrims for its redemption from the semi-barbarism resulting from successive invasions. Its classical traditions forgotten, its language corrupted by the various idioms of its conquerors, its imperfectly accepted faith undermined by the domination of heresy on the one hand, and by the recrudescence of paganism on the other, it was fast relapsing into savagery, when the influence of the Church, and the store of knowledge and zeal she was able to draw upon in foreign lands, once more built up from the fragments of her disorganized society, a new, and more splendid civilization. The conspicuous part taken by a remote island in this work of resuscitation, was a feature in its history which deserved such illustration as it has received in the volume before us.

Ellen M. Clerke.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION, EXACT AND INEXACT.

IN the most recent monument of pontifical wisdom which Leo XIII. has issued on the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, the following sentence occurs: "Since there are those who, besides having the grace of the Catholic faith, are gifted by a benign Providence with a happy talent (for the pursuit of science external to the Holy Scriptures), and they can lend much assistance to the cause of religion, every one should choose for himself a suitable line of research amid the studies which are brought to bear with such animosity on Scriptural interpretation; that each one attaining a degree of excellence in his own line, they may turn the arms of a perverted science into weapons of defence, not without glory to themselves."

The science thus proposed for our attainment is the slow result of a special and profound scientific formation. This formation, which suits mature men, more or less specialists in their departments, is a very different thing from that general process of instruction for the young which is rather ostentatiously paraded as a "scientific education." Beyond the fact that the courses are really derived from the subject-matter of the sciences, there is little that is scientific about it. As an education, it is utterly unscientific. Even as a qualification for entering on some useful career of life, it is dubiously useful in one way and is positively harmful in another.

For a commercial life, merchants tell us that mere apprenticeship in a business and any style of preparatory instruction which partakes of the character of apprenticeship will not serve the purposes of modern business; since, in the ever-changing conditions of trade now-a-days, there must be a much higher degree of mental culture brought into service, better capacities for reasoning and a wider power of observation, than the mere technical lessons of past experience or any other form of apprenticeship can possibly supply. For the higher courses of science we hear it averred by medical authorities, by mathematicians, chemists, astronomers, that a preparatory training in chemistry, mathematics and other such courses, to the prejudice of literary and classical training, throws into their advanced classes a set of unformed, unawakened minds, who are quickly left behind by other students not "coached" for these specialties, but educated "all round." For the more advanced courses of literature and philology, scientific though these may be in no small degree, the same incapacity results from the

so-called "scientific" education. And it is evident that for literature in its proper sense, for the art of writing and of speaking, for the cultivation of taste and criticism, there is no training whatever in such a system; while the talents for philosophy and theology are out of question altogether. Hence it appears, on the strength of concordant testimony, which we may have occasion to refer to more particularly before we close, the scientific method of education is but dubiously useful as an introduction into any of the "useful" careers of life.

It is positively hurtful in many ways It takes up the time and place of a genuine system of culture. It narrows the field of vision and cramps the faculties, so that when the expansive and elastic period of life is passed, and youths have become men, they cannot, however much they desire it, pick up the lost culture and acquire a liberal way of thinking, nor can they even possess themselves with credit of the fruits of other liberal minds. The inquiry is made: How can I supply the want of a liberal, a literary, a classical education? The answer is: You cannot; it is too late. How can I befit myself for logic or philosophy? The reply must be: An apprentice who has graduated into a mining school or a chemist's laboratory, or into the office of a civil engineer or an architect, cannot handle logic or philosophy; for the rest of his life he must drift helplessly about among the theories of newspaper scribblers and review writers, and take his chances there where his lot has been cast. It has been cast in the conditions of his environment, and he will remain the creature of it in his mature age, as he was the victim of it in the plastic time of his youth.

There was no reason why any system of Catholic education that pretends to be a true method of culture should ever have thrown itself into the scientific form. In the United States we are not in the grip of a State bureau of public instruction. Careers are not barred by examinations that have emanated from the peculiar conceptions of very peculiar men. We are under no constraint to form our pedagogical views on the wisdom of that pedagogical literature, tons of which do not seem to contain as much practical or theoretic wisdom as may be found in a dozen pages of old Quintillian. One thing there is in the air, and that we must charge with many of the educational phenomena which appear in the annual publications called catalogues; it is the notion of competition.

Now, competition is very good if there is anything worth while competing with. It was the soul of education in the great universities of the Middle Ages. It animated the centres of literary education which covered several countries of Europe before the great revolution. It is the life of learned societies to-day, whatever be

the specialty which marks them. It should be an incentive to enhanced excellence and increased efficiency among institutions of sound education. But what place has it, amid systems or institutions that are unsound in their methods and unsatisfactory in their results?

In point of fact, the method of pedagogical instruction prevalent in this country is that which is called, in a general way, the "scientific." It is the same which has been pointed out as a triumph of Prussian educational tactics. But Prussian authorities, who regarded it awhile with favor, or at least tolerated it, have retreated from their position. It is the same which has been recorded as the advance of science in French programmes of instruction. But French programmes have been changing every few years, and now, in the course of one unfortunate century, the twenty-first programme has been imposed on an unfortunate people. In England a similar scientific movement has begun in the face of a storm of protests, and it would appear as if the protests were being rapidly justified by results; for it is a question whether the possession and use of the English language itself will adorn the culture of the future, if only the results which are now threatening continue to work themselves out to a final issue.

In the light of these facts, we may examine with profit what is meant by the prevalent system of education; what is meant by a true scientific method; and how far, by correct means and sound views, we may co-operate in this new world, the world of the future, with the purposes expressed in the interests of all high education, when Leo XIII. calls for men of excellent science to turn the arms of attack on divine revelation into weapons of defence.

I.

We have before us several expositions of the modern method. The title of the first explains itself: "The Culture Demanded by Modern Life; a series of addresses and arguments on the claims of scientific education; with an introduction on mental discipline in education, by E. L. Youmans, 1881." The choice part of this volume is the introduction, written by the editor. He selects all that suits his purpose from the two dozen addresses which follow, and he has selected them all for a purpose. His style suits his purpose. He declaims. With no little credulity, he amasses whole paragraphs of great names, of events, of epochs, to prove what he intends, whether they prove it or not. Mathematics, which forms the purest form of true science, he rails against, because it has always held a place of honor in traditional systems of culture. Metaphysics is so far within his ken that he knows its name, to buffet it. Logic he is innocent of, both in theory and in practice.

But in all the odd gymnastics which his polemical vein leads him to indulge in through the fifty-six pages of his contribution to modern pedagogics, two things stand out with marvelous plainness: one thing which he does not want, and another thing which he does. He wants no grammar nor literature. He does want biology and chemistry. The literary specimen before us is an admirable product of the modern instructed mind. It is fluent and disconnected; it skims subjects and slips over difficulties, and it appears wondrously profound; at due intervals he turns round and contradicts what he said before, and, above all, he revels in the vague.

It is only one specimen. A swarm of such books are in the air, which is made dismal by their presence. Their authors labor under a radical impossibility of seeing anything but what comes within their limited sphere of vision. They look through the tube of a telescope or a microscope, and talk of the vast field which they see there. That is called "science"; the rest, which they do not see, is dubbed literature, or metaphysics, or religion, or whatever name they write their book against. They look through their tube, and their tube is fixed, and they are looking with one eye. Thus we have "The Conflict of Science with Religion." Or, as in the case before us, we have "Scientific Education."

Prof. Youmans is far from being unknown in the scientific world. Besides publishing a well-known text-book on chemistry, he has contributed to the cause of our enlightenment his labors as editor of the *Popular Science Monthly*, that same publication which has given a place of honor, these late years, to Dr. Andrew White's "New Chapters in the Warfare of Science (with Religion)." The fraternity of views between the doctor and the professor, between the author and the editor, should prepare us to expect a kinship of methods, as in fact we find to be the case; the same accumulation of nebulous statements, *cirrus*, *cumulus* and *nimbus*, as they speak in the science of the clouds, which, gathering over the devoted head of religion here, or literature there, at last discharges its thunderbolt at the name they have set up to smite. Then the sky clears up and science smiles serene. Two dozen addresses in the volume before us radiate their benignant illumination on scientific education. And the system, as summed up by the professor, stands forth illumined in this guise:

First, object-lessons for the child, as the means of developing a faculty of observation, by getting into the mind a set of facts from without. Then mathematics, not as a mental discipline, but as a mere key to "universal science;" or else physics, which cultivates the reasoning faculty to the practice of broad inductions, including "generalizations, by which wide-reaching principles replace or

represent an infinitude of details"; or else chemistry, which, with physics, not only cultivates in the child the faculty of wide inductions, but also, like physics and mathematics together, "affords a discipline in deductive reasoning." Then we pass on to the study of the biological sciences, botany, zoology, physiology, geology. Here the theorist becomes eloquent, and glows with his subject. For here we have passed out of the range of exact sciences and have entered on the inexact. Experiment or active observation, which played so important a part in physics and chemistry, and enabled a broad inductive mind to "compel a revelation of nature's secrets," is now greatly limited, and "sources of error become more numerous and fallacies more insidious," and hence "a subtler exercise of the reason is demanded—more circumspection in weighing evidence and checking conclusions, and a severer necessity for suspension of judgment." Thus, "reasoning from analogy is practiced, a powerful but perilous mode of proceeding; one which we are compelled constantly to adopt in our mental treatment of the concerns of life, and for which biological studies are eminently suited to give the requisite discipline. Another advantage of these studies is the comprehensiveness of their classifications." To meet the manifold emergencies of our social experience, we need "such a training in the fundamental organic sciences as shall constitute a thorough biological discipline."

This is a true liberal education for the boy's mind, which is now rendered able to cope with higher studies. "The discipline and the knowledge conferred by study of the preceding group of sciences form the true preparation for that higher class of studies, mental, moral, political, and literary, which completes the course of a true, liberal education." "Physiology passes insensibly into psychology, the central science, upon which hinge logic, sociology, political economy, history, ethics, æsthetics, and literature."

In all this vast scheme of science, proposed as a pedagogical training for the young, there is no overloading of the mind, because "the student is not expected to grasp the details of the various sciences, but only to master their leading principles. At least one science, however, should be thoroughly acquired by every well-educated person—should be carried into detail, pursued experimentally, and pushed to its boundaries." That is to say, in a somewhat different sense from what Leo XIII. means, every well-educated person should be a chemist, or physiologist, or physicist, or the like. Secondly, "this scheme is not too extended, because its arrangement economizes mental power in the highest degree." This is an interesting statement; for it means that the mental discipline afforded is copious and well conceived. He explains it, therefore: "Wasting no force for mere discipline, it gives

the entire energies of the mind to the direct attainment of knowledge." That is to say, it affords no mental discipline whatever, but merely busies itself with heaping up facts in the mind.

And what about language in all this? Ah! that is only a vehicle of thought, a mere tool. And, "the sensible mechanic remembers that his tools are for nothing but use, and hence spends the least possible time in grinding and polishing them." That is true, when the man has the tools and is using them. But how is the young scholar to get his tools, this vehicle of thought, this art of arts, this power of expression, which reacts so logically and artistically on the development of thought itself, that a finished style is considered to be the accomplished expression of a finished mind? Not a word in reply except this piece of vagueness: "So much of the study of languages, and in such forms as are necessary to its intelligent use, is demanded in education; but, while this places the study upon explicit grounds of utility, by the principle of utility should it be limited." Hence, the student is to get it where he can; but, above all things, he is to use it; for it does really seem that this Professor acknowledges language to be somehow useful and necessary. But that is only a by-play. It is nature that educates—chemistry and biology. And he indulges in the usual hopes: "When nature becomes the subject of study, the love of nature its stimulus, and the order of nature its guide, then will results in education rival the achievements in science in the fields of its noblest triumphs." And so forth. His own achievement he entitles, "Mental Discipline in Education."

II.

After this sample of the results of scientific education on a modern mind, we proceed in the next place to a much wider field, and mean to exhibit the outcome of such pedagogics in popular education. This we shall do with the help of another modern mind, that of the President of Harvard, who has unbosomed himself recently in the *Forum* on the topic, "Wherein Popular Education has Failed."[1] But, as the intellectual lineaments of these and other pedagogical authorities favor one another somewhat remarkably, we pause a moment to characterize the family likeness, which belongs to the school of science, exact and inexact.

The true notion of science is the knowledge of things by their causes or principles. Thus, leaving philosophy and logic aside, which treat of the ultimate principles of all things mental and physical, we observe that mathematics is the only perfect science, because from a few self-evident axioms regarding quantity it de-

[1] *Forum*, December, 1892.

duces by perfectly rational steps an endless number of relations and properties affecting all forms of quantity. Every step is perfectly intelligible to the reasoning mind. No person can demonstrate a proposition of Euclid without the most perspicuous use of deductive reasoning, otherwise called the syllogism; and every one can perform a few of the simpler demonstrations in plane geometry. It is only when processes are gone through which have been elaborated by others, with methods and terms and formulas to be applied according to definite set rules, that mathematics loses its character of a true science, at least for pedagogical purposes, and becomes a mere art. Thus, arithmetic, as learnt and practiced, thus algebra, and all the higher forms of geometry, are applied as technical arts. A few principles underlying them are more or less understood; a formula, which issues forth at the end, is "interpreted"; but all between the beginning and the end is a matter of practice, adroitness, and patience.

These are also called exact sciences, because they deal with abstract relations which the various notions of quantity include in themselves, without application to any subject-matter. The moment a relation of quantity is considered in some definite matter—as by astronomy, in the stars and planets; by physics, in the attributes of matter, such as heat and light; by chemistry, in the combination of elements that go to make up bodies—the mathematical calculation is liable to error, since there is introduced a question of fact. And fact depends upon fallible observation. Still, astronomy and physics generally are sufficiently accurate to merit the title of exact sciences. But chemistry is scarcely a science at all; it has no general principles to fall back on, either deductive or inductive; that is to say, it never deduces anything from a general principle set down, and it never discovers by induction from facts any premises which it can use as principles, except in the partial, limited processes, by which it finds out the definite properties of some definite element; and, having tabulated them, thenceforth it uses its table.

To be sure, chemists endeavor to cure the radical vice of their craft by going behind what they observe and talking about the ultimate constituents of matter—atoms and forces. But in this they are no longer chemists; they are playing at metaphysics, and a sorry figure they make of it. "Physics, beware of metaphysics!" cried Newton. But all in vain. There would be only a a moderate amount of chemistry to-day in the world, there would be little biology, and absolutely no theory of evolution, were it not for the unquenchable thirst of mankind to drink at the springs of metaphysics and satisfy a burning desire regarding their origin and destiny, in a certain philosophical way of their own.

As to all the forms of biology, they are utterly unscientific, outside of some mathematical calculations, and some other chemical processes, which are so far scientific as chemistry itself is, and no more. Biologists understand nothing whatever about life in the organic body or life in the organic cell. Chemistry itself enters into a cloud of enigma when it mixes with life in the protoplasm. The biological chemist falls back on explanations which do not belong to his specialty, and he becomes, as usual, a metaphysician; and neither metaphysics nor biology derives profit from the performance.

When economical or social science is touched there is still a minute point of contact with science properly so called. It is because all things material—even men, who have material bodies—present a side of their being to the calculations of mathematics. They can be counted, weighed, measured. Their births and their deaths, their external acts and vicissitudes, all lend themselves to calculation; and as men are uniform in their nature, if conditions also are uniform, or are reduced in any given social problem to some common denomination, which can furnish a basis to a mathematical calculation, of course an arithmetical or algebraic reckoning can be set up. Thus, a life insurance company exploits the statistical tables of mortality, and reckons its chances. And all the science that is to be found in political or social economy is just the amount which serves the purposes of the calculating clerks in an insurance office or a secretary in the Bureau of the Interior.

For drawing out the mind of the young and enabling it to put two and two together with logical accuracy, the science of plane geometry according to the method of Euclid has always held a place of high honor. That method uses no technical formulas or algebraic processes, but argues from plain principles, by plain steps, to evident conclusions. It is the perfect demonstrative method of the logical syllogism, and it avails itself of other forms of logical argument which are reducible to the syllogism. Hence, for the admirable discipline which it furnishes in the way of accurate thought, no pupils of either sex need be dispensed from performing a few of the simpler demonstrations. The train of reasoning here is called "deductive," because it advances from premises which implicitly contain the inference to the inference which stands out distinct from the premises. And the principles or premises themselves are already in the child's mind, as, for instance, the notion of a line, an angle, a triangle. So that this form of mathematics satisfies the requirements of education, which means "drawing out" the faculties by the strength which is native to them and on subject-matter which is more or less domesticated with them.

Carried too far, it is notorious that mathematical methods exert a cramping influence on the mind. They do not include any elements of positive fact, and they are prone to engender a contempt for the slow and uncertain observation or "induction" of facts. Facts are extremely variable; where the factor of life intervenes, as in all biology, they are dim in their outline; and if free-will interposes, as in all science pertaining to ethical and social life, the facts themselves are positively uncertain. Still, these same ethical and social phenomena are the most interesting and important affairs in the universe. Here the mathematical bent plays havoc with all problems. It must needs lay down its axioms and its definitions, its postulates and its principles; it must construct its geometrical plans, and if any mortal men or methods, any histories of human kind or political forms of government do not fit into the plan, so much the worse for them. Pascal, himself an eminent mathematician, remarks: "It is rare that mathematicians are observant, or that observant minds are mathematical, because mathematicians would treat matters of observation by rule of mathematics, and they make themselves ridiculous by attempting to commence with definitions and principles."

To this is added another inconvenience, which has much to do with bringing about the present disorganized state of society, moral and political. Entering with his mathematical qualifications into the field of philosophical, social, and political problems, the mathematician must adopt some positive premises or other, on which his mathematical mill is to work. Now, it is a matter of the veriest chance what premises or principles he will adopt; for he is lacking in the acumen which other studies impart to the mind for discerning the value of complicated phenomena, historical data, philosophical truths, religious principles, or, as in the case before us, the factors of true education. In his helplessness, he accepts, passively, the principles floating about in the air, or the suggestions whispered to him by his passions. As Dugald Stewart has observed, "In the course of my own experience, I have not met with a mere mathematician who was not credulous to a fault; credulous not only with respect to human testimony, but credulous also in matters of opinion; and prone, on all subjects which he had not carefully studied, to repose too much faith in illustrations and consecrated names."[1] Then, his premises being taken, though at hap-hazard, his mill begins to work. Never does it grind more pitilessly than when the mathematical faculty has been highly cultivated by the sublime forms of analysis. And it grinds exquisitely. A scientific writer tells us, with some complacency,

[1] *Youmans*, Introduction, p. 12, note.

that "mathematical analysis is often compared to a mill; throw in the wheat and you will get flour; granaries might groan with the richest harvests without helping much the stomachs of men, if the grain could not be turned into flour."[1]

Now, we just remarked that this mathematical bent had much to do with bringing about the revolutionary state of society which marks the present century. Given the principles of the Revolution, the geometrical spirit accorded perfectly with the tendencies of men who delighted in abstract generalities, and in figures without substance, and who wanted nothing less than the substance of things that were, the facts which constituted society as it was, the traditions which had built it up, and the forms of education which had been handed down by Christian practice and antecedent. The ascendency of mathematical philosophers over the movements preparatory to the great revolution is an unquestioned fact in history. The Voltairian encyclopædists took their philosophy from the times, and repaid it by bringing their geometry into everything. Mathematical chemists, in particular, seem to have been irrepressible then, as they are dominant now. D'Alembert would have it, that, "if geometry were taught to children betimes, he doubted not but that prodigies, and precocious talents of this kind (that is, of his own kind), would be more frequent." The mathematical chemists, who posed as statesmen in the *Corps Legislatif*, proposed that the young generations, now belonging to the revolution, should be brought up on problems of algebra and the nomenclatures of plants and animals. For this advance, however, the times were not yet ripe; and the inventors of the new pedagogics themselves dropped the project for awhile. Chaptal, who was put in charge of the new device, called "Public Instruction," by the Consul Napoleon, laid it down, that "anatomy and physiology ought to be the *basis* of all education; and, if such had been the line of march in the ages which have gone before us, we should never have seen unbridled imaginations create imaginary worlds (of religion and God), and substitute phantoms for realities. . . . The resemblance between our physical structure and the greater part of the beings of nature, marks well enough our place (the same as Professor Huxley's conception of "Man's Place in Nature"); and shows us what we ought to think of those prerogatives (of spirituality, immortality, and morality), which the delirium of ignorant pride has attributed to the human species," etc.[2]

[1] Moutier, "La Thermodynamique;" *Revue des Questions Scientifique*, t. xx., p. 188, "L'Application de l'Analyse Mathematique aux autres Sciences," par Franc. Iniguez.

[2] *De L'Université Nouvelle, Fille Ainée de la Revolution.* 1828. "Documents Concernant la Comp. de Jesus," tome iii., p. 25.

Progress, arrested awhile, in those days of simplicity, was not to be balked in the long run, nor has it been; and the plans proposed by such mathematicians, or chemists, or constitutional bishops, or madmen, as D'Alembert and Bancal, Talleyrand and Grégoire, Lepelletier and Robespierre, have worked their way steadily amid revolutionized generations, until "classical and literary studies giving way to scientific courses, then scientific courses to industrial applications, there has been a steady movement from the compass to the plough, from mathematics to industrial arts, from the sciences themselves to the brute matter which they merely number and measure. . . . . As abstract sciences, geometry and algebra, when they are taken as the exclusive means of culture, make men forget the Gospel and morality, revelation and history; as sciences applied, they make men think only of matter."[1]

This spirit is little, and it is irreligious, and, because irreligious, it sinks into the differential category of the infinitesimally little. Shut up in its formulas from first to last, the moment its credulity takes infidelity into its calculations as one of the blindest of its formulas, its mill goes on grinding and grinding long after the last particle of logic or sense has passed through; and, when a century has run its course, the product is indescribable.

It is not the true scientific spirit that is irreligious. All the great founders of modern science have been most religiously-minded in their own way. Galileo, the father of modern mechanics; Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton, the prominent figures in the science of astronomy; Boyle and Pascal, the active spirits in developing hydrostatics, have all been led, in their search for God's laws impressed on nature, to bow with increased reverence before the divine wisdom which invented and impressed such laws.[2] These were inductive minds, gifted with the talent of finding out nature. And had Darwin set himself to find out nature in truth, there is little reason to fear that he would have died an atheist. But he set himself to find out a falsehood, and he got it, because he put it there.

Other minds which are not inductive in their bent, and which have not been refreshed, after a struggle through the twilight of their weak conceptions, with the sudden revelation, like a broad sunlight, of God's evident providence and His palpable presence, may rehearse the same inductive processes, as children can do, and feel none of that overpowering grasp of the Mightier Mind which lifted up the original discoverer to catch a glimpse of the

[1] P. Arsène Cahour, d. C. d. J, *Des Études Classiques et Des Études Professionelles*, 1853, p. 25.

[2] Compare W. Whewell, *Astronomy and General Physics Compared with Reference to Natural Theology*, 1836, part iii., "Religious Views."

infinite. And, as to deductive processes, those which start with principles or formulas, and thenceforward merely turn them inside out and up and down, and create sciences of perfect truth, but all abstractions, their effect seems to be to create a craving for the formula everywhere, whether it can be had or not. Formulas that know nothing of shades and tints, of conditions, persons, and times, must be made to comprehend the science of life, society, politics, in all their varied and manifold relations, as if everything were on a plane of only two dimensions, or on a line of only one direction, or at a point which has neither length nor direction nor magnitude. Said Laplace: "An intelligence which, at a given instant, should know all the forces by which nature is urged, and the respective situation of the beings of which nature is composed, if moreover it were comprehensive enough to subject these data to calculation, would include in the *same formula* the movements of the large bodies of the universe and those of the smallest atom." So far correct. He adds: "Nothing would be uncertain to such an intelligence, and the future not less than the past would be present to its eyes"—a statement which requires modification if free will is included. But a formula knows of no such modification, and the little mind will not tolerate adjustment. Hence, when this same mathematician was appointed by Napoleon to the Ministry of the Interior, he gave no satisfaction. "He searched for subtleties in every subject," wrote the emperor in his personal memoirs; "he carried into his official duties the spirit of infinitesimally small quantities; he apprehended no question under its proper point of view."

We have seen that the mathematical or "scientific" bent is, of itself, a narrow and mechanical turn of mind; it disqualifies for liberal views of life, and for the sciences which treat of human affairs. We have added the important consideration that, as it takes its principles somewhere, and then only rigidly applies them and deduces consequences from them, if the principles are wrong, like that of infidelity, or revolution, or socialism, or anything similarly perverse, it will need only time and opportunity for all kinds of perverse conclusions to establish themselves in the mind and to propagate themselves around in the mass of society. We add here only one further consideration as bearing, in particular, on the subject of theoretic education or pedagogics. It is that, among the false principles thus assumed, one which stands conspicuous is the idea of utility which aims at ready results, at products ready-made, like manufactured articles; which fights shy of thorough mental discipline because that takes time, and produces its fruits only at a remoter period in the training of developed faculties; and which, finally, in the spirit of envy at the splendid results

of a truly developing or liberal education, does not scruple to appropriate the name of "liberal" to itself, and so gloss over the narrowing, belittling, and slip-shod processes of its own utilitarian instruction.

We could quote at length illustrations of this utilitarian fallacy from the Introduction of Prof. Youmans, whose plea we considered awhile ago. But, as we go on now to President Eliot, we quote from the former only a passage or two. He says: "In the world of business, where results become quickly apparent, and wrong policy works speedy disaster, the notion of discipline *for* a special activity, and not *through* it, could not be entertained, and it only lingers in the world of education because the effects are more remote, complex, and indefinite." This means that every child should be worked as an apprentice from the first in the line of activity which he is to follow in after-life—"discipline *through* a special activity"; and he need not have his faculties developed all round to make him a qualified man, whatever his future line of life may happen to be; this he calls "discipline *for* a special activity." The reason he gives is worthy of his school. It is, that when a man is already a man, and has his business in hand, there is no question any longer of developing his faculties all round; he had better mind his business. Therefore the child, who is yet in the formative process, whence are to issue results in the future, "more remote, complex, and indefinite," should also mind some business, though he has none yet, and should leave education alone, as if he had got it already. He is to be put up quickly, like a ready-made article, duly packed and addressed. He is on the same footing as the ten-year-old boy working in the coal-mine, and using up a constitution which he has not yet acquired. That is the utilitarian principle of education.

We may also give an illustration of the infidel tendency in the American chemist's mind. Mathematician as he is, he decries pure mathematics, in the same breath with which he berates literature and grammar. Both mathematics and grammar, he says, "begin with the unquestioning acceptance of data—axioms, definitions, rules; both reason deductively from foregone assumptions, and therefore both habituate to the passive acceptance of authority—the highest mental desideratum in the theological ages and establishments, which gave rise to the traditional curriculum." This is very interesting. A scientific man runs down the purest form of science, because the scientific habit of mind which it engenders is precisely in accordance with theology, religion, and faith! A splendid testimony from the infidel!

We may add another passage, to show the breadth of mind, and accuracy of historical lore, which graces the utilitarian and infidel

mind of an analytical chemist. He dismisses the traditional system of liberal culture, because it comes down from ancient times, when it was summed up in the Trivium and Quadrivium, as they were called; that is to say, grammar, logic, and rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music—making seven branches or arts in all. And he deliveres his argument thus: "The predominant culture of modern times had its origin, more than eight hundred years ago, in a superstition of the middle ages. A mystical reverence was attached to the number *seven,* which was supposed to be a key to the order of the universe. That there were seven cardinal virtues (!), seven deadly sins, seven sacraments, seven days in the week, seven metals, seven planets, and seven apertures in a man's head, was believed to afford sufficient reason for making the course of liberal study consist of seven arts, and occupy seven years." The gentleman seems to be talking seriously.

At all events, he is terribly in earnest, when he despatches all intuitive processes of the scientific mind, and cries out: "The primary question is, What are the facts, the pertinent facts, and all the facts which bear upon the inquiry? This is the supreme step; for, until this is done, reasoning is futile; and it may be added that, when this is done, the formation of conclusions is a comparatively simple process." Whereupon he performs the extremely simple process of requiring the facts of biology as the true discipline of the mind in education, without paying much attention to the facts of the question, or entangling himself in superfluous reasoning.

III.

Eleven years later than the publication of Prof. Youmans' pretentious claims, President Eliot of Harvard has come forward to examine results. His verdict is sufficiently intimated in the title of his article, "Wherein Popular Education Has Failed." According to his presentation, it seems to have failed utterly. And this is the more noteworthy as coming from one, who by the weight of his authority and the activity of his pen has been a power for many years in the cause of utilitarian education. Yet, not to be too sombre in his view of the situation, he sets it off with a couple of relieving features. One is the possibility that certain agreeable facts in our present state of society may be in part due to popular education, as now carried on. The other is the conviction which he expresses, that, if the means are adopted which he proposes for the improvement of such education, an amelioration may follow in the results. It so happens that the means which he suggests are not substantially different from the principles in actual opera-

tion. Still he concludes hopefully, in the usual style: "Such are some of the measures which we may reasonably hope will make popular education in the future more successful than it has been in the past in developing universal reasonableness."[1] Universal reasonableness! The tone is certainly modest. It is no longer a glorious sunshine of intellectual results, but a bit of common reasonableness that will be thankfully received!

The eminent president, himself a chemist, reviews in several gloomy pages all the expectations that had been entertained regarding the fruits of popular education; and all of which have been frustrated. "Public education should mean the systematic training of all children for the duties of life; and it seems as if this systematic training could work almost a revolution in human society in two or three generations, if wisely and faithfully conducted. Why has it not? It seems to provide directly for a general increase of power to reason and, therefore, of actual reasonableness in the conduct of life. Why is it possible to doubt whether any appreciable gain has thus far been made in these respects?" "Disquieting questions," as he calls them!

Still he claims that the "indictments against universal education as a cure for ancient wrongs and evils leave out of sight great improvements in social condition which the last two generations have seen." Accordingly, he tabulates a number of "beneficent changes" regarding the mitigation of human miseries in prisons and elsewhere; the formation of habits of industry by savings-banks and the like; improvement in the condition of wage-earners, touching their income, lodging, food, clothing, "and the means of education for their children." By-the-way, it is hard to see how this last is a "beneficent change" if "popular education has failed." He notes how superstitions have been abolished, and civil order extended over regions once desolate or dangerous; how family and school discipline have been mitigated within two generations, "and how all sorts of abuses and cruelties are checked and prevented (?) by the publicity of modern life, a publicity which depends on the universal capacity to read." So that the villainies perpetrated by the press, promulgated and communicated to simple populations, are among the "beneficent changes" of the time! He recalls that all business now-a-days is conducted on trust and mutual confidence, which is protected by the "publicity" of the press; that the United States have spread across a continent, that Italy has been made one nation, etc.; that the different classes of society and the different nations have lately made some approach towards realizing the general truth of the New Testament saying:

[1] *The Forum*, December, 1892.

"We are members one of another." He adds, conscientiously: "It would not be just to contend that popular education has brought to pass all these improvements and ameliorations." No, it would not be just, at all; for popular education seems to have had nothing to do with any, except those among the "improvements," which are decidedly mischievous. Still, he goes on apologetically: "It has undoubtedly contributed to them all." That we should like to see proved, not assumed; for some perverse minds might assume the very opposite and prove it.

So far there is nothing that has a real bearing on the science of education. But at last, after the weary platitudes, we light upon two sentences that touch education—that prove, as he says, "increased intelligence in large masses of people." This is what we want, and thus it reads: "If war has not ceased, soldiers are certainly more intelligent than they used to be, else they could not use the arms of precision with which armies are now supplied. The same is true of all industry and trade—they require more intelligence than formerly in all the work-people."

Not being gifted with a chemical mind ourselves, we find this astounding. To sight a rifle and pull a trigger argues greater intelligence, because the rifle is more precise than it used to be, and its maker, no doubt, must have been more intelligent! To work a crank, or grease a rod, for ten mortal hours a day, and to become a living automaton in some big automatic machine, shows greater intelligence than formerly, though it is always the identical pin-head or ground-button, or bit of some other machine that the two automata, the living and the dead one, are turning out by the thousands per week!

As this passes our own intelligence we refer for light to a great authority. And we find a just principle stated.[1] "The perfection of the mechanical and other arts among us," says Whewell, "proves the advanced condition of our sciences, only in so far as these arts have been perfected by the application of some great truth, with a clear insight into its nature. . . . . But what distinct theoretical principle is illustrated by the beautiful manufactures of porcelain, or steel, or glass? A chemical view of these compounds, which would explain the conditions of success and failure in their manufacture, would be of great value in art; and it would also be a novelty in chemical theory; so little is the present condition of these processes a triumph of science, shedding intellectual glory on our age!" It is, indeed, notorious, that the advance of science, even in those who advance it, has little to do with science, and a

[1] Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. i., p. 242: *Physical Science in the Middle Ages*, ch. 5.

great deal to do with a happy knack of invention or manipulation. What, then, have the poor workmen to do with science or scientific "general intelligence," when they only work the blow-pipes or trim the products?

And, if invention and manipulation do manifest "general intelligence," what shall we say of former ages which had none of the mechanical conveniences of our time, not even coal? Whewell sums up some of them:[1] "Parchment and paper, printing and engraving, improved glass and steel, gunpowder, clocks, telescopes, the mariner's compass, the reformed calendar, the decimal notation, algebra, trigonometry, chemistry, counterpoint, an invention equivalent to a new creation of music—these are all possessions which we inherit from that which has been so disparagingly termed the Stationary Period. Above all, let us look at the monuments of architecture of this period; the admiration and the despair of modern architects, not only for their beauty, but for the skill disclosed in their construction."

Hence, President Eliot has not succeeded in pointing to a single beneficent result of popular education. So, making the best of the case as it stands, "he thinks he perceives in popular education, as generally conducted until recently, an inadequacy and a misdirection which supply a partial answer to these disquieting questions."

His critical strictures fall chiefly on the new system of education —that advocated so gloriously by Professor Youmans—only the system has not been properly worked. Therefore he suggests improvements, and the principles he starts from are almost identical with those of the professor, while his "improvements" are identical with the measures which have actually failed. Of course, it cannot be otherwise when principles and measures are astray.

We need not rehearse his somewhat lengthy arraignment of the prevalent system and his decidedly hackneyed improvements. Still, there are some good things that he says. Speaking of the higher class of schools, he remarks that "among the subjects other than languages there will generally be found several which seem to be taught for the purpose of giving information rather than of imparting power. Such are the common high-school and academy topics in history, natural history, psychology, astronomy, political economy, civil government, mechanics, constitutional law and commercial law. These subjects, as they are now taught, seldom train any power but that of memory. As a rule, the feebler a high school or academy is, the more these information-subjects figure in its programme, and when a strong school offers sev-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

eral distinct courses, the shorter and weaker courses are sure to exhibit an undue number of these subjects. . . . The pupil is practically required to commit to memory a primer or a small elementary manual for the sake of the information it contains. There can be no training of the reason in such a process." This is perfectly true, and if educational authorities would ponder over this reflection, they would make two applications of the wisdom which it contains. First, they would take notice that all scientific education, as it is actually carried on, goes precisely on these lines, all mere information of facts heaped in from without; and that it cannot ever be otherwise as a means of education for the young; that it does not educate or draw out the faculties, but sets up a show-window to catch the eye of examiners, and, like a show-window, it is for no other use but to catch the eye. Secondly, our Catholic pedagogical authorities would take note of the uniform simplicity which has characterized all Catholic systems of education up to late years; they would note that whether in primary schools or in academies or in colleges, there has been uniformly a central line of studies to follow, straight, thorough and complete, to which other subjects were merely secondary and subsidiary; and that the central line has not been a flimsy tissue of so-called science. Such is still the system in Catholic institutions, where traditional wisdom survives, and where the profound knowledge of a child's needs, so well apprehended by Catholic wisdom and instincts, has not been spirited out of sight by the phantom or nightmare called competition.

The president discerns the same unsatisfactory results in the lowest grades of schools, with their reading, spelling, writing, geography and arithmetic; but he does not commit the intellectual absurdity of implying that such practical arts can be held up as, in any sense, an intellectual culture of mankind.

Thus, the lowest stratum of studies being quite incompetent to develop mental capacities, and the middle stage being out of order, he mounts to the highest series, and "finds the same condition of things in most American institutions. The cultivation of memory predominates: that of the observing, inferring and reasoning faculties is subordinated." Yet, as we may remember, this power of observation, inference and reason, is the very fruit so fondly anticipated of scientific education. "No amount of *memoriter* study of languages or of the natural sciences, and no attainment in arithmetic, will protect a man or woman, except imperfectly, through a certain indirect cultivation of general intelligence, from succumbing to the first plausible delusion or sophism he or she may encounter." He then gives examples of the delusions which run riot in our times and country. They are instructive as indi-

cating the trend of thought which these pedagogical authorities are indulging in, while we suppose them, and they suppose themselves, to be treating of education for the young. He adduces the sophisms of astrology, theosophy, free silver, strikes, boycotts, persecutions of Jews and Mormons, the violent exclusion of non-union men from employment. He refers to paper money and national wealth, to American wages and English wages, to Bessemer steel and public debts. He says: "The publication made in 1891 by the Commissioner of Labor at Washington, concerning the cost of producing iron and steel, is the first real attempt to determine the facts upon which the theory of a single group of important items in our tariff might have been based. This admirable production is a volume of 1400 pages—mostly statistical tables." This is the kind of atmosphere in which the thought of our educational authorities moves when they do not confine themselves, as true mathematicians and chemists should do, to their own province of algebraic formulas and biological analyses. And from this unreal and hazy mist of thought they descend to legislate about education. However, the admissions, at least, of a candid mind like that of the president's are useful: "There are many educated people who have little better protection against delusions and sophisms than the uneducated, for the simple reason that their education, though prolonged and elaborated, was still not of a kind to train their judgment and reasoning powers."

Such is the outcome of the new pedagogics. But the dismal spectacle does not arrest the progress of the pedagogical scientists. They plod on their own way, they work the machine, and are ever turning out new projects. To quote one sentence more from the President of Harvard: "In the higher part of the system of public instruction two difficult subjects deserve a much larger share of attention than they now obtain—political economy and sociology. They should be studied, however, not as information-subjects, but as training or disciplinary subjects," etc. On which we remark, that matters pertaining to politics and statesmanship are subjects for mature educated minds, and can neither train, nor drill, nor discipline, nor draw out any faculties whatever of a young mind, but can only fill them with odds and ends of numbers from census reports, as foreign to education as the "1400 pages of the admirable publication of the Commissioner of Labor at Washington on the cost of producing iron and steel." And further we remark, quoting a profound reflection of the same eminent gentleman of Harvard: "These subjects seldom train any power but that of memory. As a rule, the feebler any system is the more these information-subjects figure in its programme." This "scientific" system labors under a feebleness which belongs to the last degree of atrophy—

feeble in reason, feeble in logic, feeble in its intuition as to the constitution of the young mind and character, and therefore abounding in subjects for its programmes, in programmes for its theories, and in theories that shoot up like the weeds of spring under the glorious sun of scientific enlightenment.

IV.

It might be expected, after this critical and somewhat negative analysis of scientific methods, that we should present a constructive view of sound education, and lead up steadily from first principles and first stages in the instruction of the young to that ideal of scientific excellence which Leo XIII., whom we quoted at the beginning, desires to see conspicuous and effective in the ranks of Christ's faithful. But that would be another subject, for its basis is literature. Besides, there is not room for it on the present occasion; nor from our point of view is it necessary, since, on a former occasion, we endeavored to expound in this REVIEW the traditional principles of sound education.[1] Then it was the same President of Harvard who, in the controversy on liberal education, advocating, as is usual with him, the scientific claims, provoked or intensified the public discussion of that date. We have nothing to add now to what we said then. But the literature of the subject has received since then important accessions from the treasury of practical results in Germany, Austria, France, England, Ireland, and the results furnish no subject for congratulation.[2]

On this literary issue we can discover no contributions whatever to either pedagogical principle or pedagogical practice from the scientific school. Beyond those declamations of Prof. Youmans against the traditional method of culture, and besides those very logical sallies of his against the seven liberal arts which have been handed down to us only because the number seven was sacred and sacramental in the benighted Middle Ages, all that we can discover in the treatises of either president or professor on the subject of literary formation amounts to this:

Language is necessary; use it, therefore. Style, to be perfect, requires a power of observation, such as Tennyson shows; write, therefore, like Tennyson.[3] Scientific conscientiousness, the scrupulously accurate statement of facts observed, is as good a training of the conscience as secular education can furnish;[4] therefore, vivid

[1] "What is a Liberal Education?" AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1885, vol. x., pp. 18–35.

[2] Compare Rev. John Gerard, S. J., on "Education and School"; *The Month*, 1886, vol. lvi, pp. 163–179, 353–363.

[3] Eliot, *Forum*, p. 420.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 419.

and accurate records of all things observed, seen, felt, done, suffered, should be made by the child; and this, for the benefit of the community, as well as for its own benefit, when the time arrives for it to be a scientist. But, as no power of description is of use without the reasoning faculty, this faculty, as exercised in "argumentative composition," is to be cultivated assiduously. For the rest, "in cultivating any field of knowledge, this power of expression can be won if the right means are used; and, if these means are neglected, it will not be won in any field."[1]

This is, no doubt, a singularly profound treatment of the literary question in liberal education. But a writer of the University of Wisconsin, who comes to the assistance of the president of Harvard, takes the palm for literary acumen and criticism from even so eminent a colleague.[2] He says, that the mental processes involved in translating a paragraph from Cicero correctly, "are hardly more numerous or more important, from a practical point of view, than those employed in putting together a *Chinese puzzle*." In the hands of this volunteer, the whole science and art of education becomes a most curious tissue of kindergarten practices, debating-club methods, magazine references, and thumbing of census reports, of the back records of law courts, of Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences," and of theories on the "Nibelungenlied." This course of his "would take its place in the school and college curriculum by the side of the natural and the mental sciences, history, literature, and the languages. It would not crowd the others out." Why? First, because it is indispensable. Secondly, because it is supplementary. Thirdly, because it develops "other functions of the mind equally important in their way, for instance, the power of observation, and, above all, the *emotions!*" But, especially, it would not crowd the others out, because, "whatever else might have to be neglected or dropped from the curriculum, for want of time, its claims should be honored to their full extent"; that is, *because it should crowd the others out!*[3] And this contributor to the *Educational Review* entitles his lucubration, "Teaching Reasoning as a Fine Art." Surely, it has become a fine art—if by fine we mean rare. But we trust that Catholic education, whether in universities or academies, will never sink so low as to give to the light of publicity, on a serious subject, contributions so ill-written, with a style so puerile, and reasoning so inept, as we have seen are to be credited to some prominent institutions and publications.

We have no reason to believe that Catholic institutions of edu-

[1] *Ib*, p. 419.

[2] *Educational Review*, December, 1893, p. 494. "Teaching Reasoning as a Fine Art."

[3] *Ib.*, p. 497.

cation, which are now grown to be such a power in numbers, resources, and repute for moral training, have fallen away in pedagogical instinct and wisdom from what they were forty years ago. At that time, Dr. Henry Barnard, speaking of one class of our schools, could risk his reputation and authority before a Protestant public by saying in his "Journal of Education",[1] "The only way, in our country and in this age, to 'put down' such schools, which have their roots in the past, and which have been matured, after profound study, by men who have made teaching the business of their life from a sense of religious duty, is to multiply institutions of a better quality, and bring them within the reach of poor but talented children." What he said of one class of schools, we say of all; that the Catholic instincts and traditions, which are their life, have roots in the past, and have matured amid all the graces of charity, self-sacrifice, and duty. And, at the time when he wrote thus, old and wise traditions had not yet vanished from the educational institutions of the country at large. Now, we may say, all is gone. And, as in so many other affairs, the light and warmth and invigorating influences of the Christian spirit have steadily lessened their sphere of activity in the world at large, and have shrunk back within the strict limits of the Catholic Church and her institutions alone.

Hence, in the practical conduct of education, no doubt "information-courses" are pleasant and useful, but only as a variety and a dessert to the central and solid course, which, according to their degree, must be served up as the mental diet of the young. In the higher institutions of learning, which prepare the mind in a liberal way for all subsequent studies and specialties, the teaching of the sciences must remain within the limits of what is essential to them, so far as their processes are intelligent and liberalizing, not so far as to become technical and specializing. "Initiation into scientific methods, in which consists the educating value of the sciences, does not demand all the sciences; it can be effected by a few well-chosen specimens; it depends much more on its quality than on the quantity of matter conveyed. In the sciences, as in letters, the amassing of knowledge is not an end in itself; it is the means of education." Such are the words of a government professor of mathematics, drawing up the report of a scientific committee of studies appointed by the French republic.[2]

If the mania for competing with some vague phantom of a state system of public instruction only served to intensify the quality of

[1] *The American Journal of Education*, June, 1858, vol. v., p. 228. "The Jesuits and their Schools."

[2] "Réformes Scolaires," by Le R. P. De Gabriac, in the *Études*, Avril, 1890, t. 49, p. 582.

educational work in Catholic institutions, it would be serving as a spice which whets the appetite. But we may inquire whether the words of Prof. Mahaffy, in his government report on the Irish Endowed Schools, have no application to what is visible about us:[1] "It appeared to me all over Ireland, and in England also, that the majority of boys, without being overworked, *were addled by the multiplicity of their subjects*, and, instead of increasing their knowledge, had utterly confused it. I heard everywhere from the masters the same complaint. Whenever I asked them to point me out a brilliant boy, they replied that the race had died out; that brilliant boys could no longer be found. . . . . I sought in vain for bright promise, for quick intelligence, for keen sympathy with their studies. It is the result of the present boa-constrictor system of competitive examination which is strangling our youth in its fatal embrace."

We have nothing to learn from such a system except to avoid it. Avoiding it, we hold fast to our traditional solidity, and, where nature has been benign, we develop youthful brilliancy. The initiation into scientific methods, as the French commissioner expressed himself, prepares the young mind, thus liberally treated, for the specialties which are to follow in practical and professional life. And thus, at the end, we reach the conception of Leo XIII., which we quoted on starting: "Those who are gifted with a happy talent for science can lend much assistance to religion, and turn the arms of perverted knowledge into weapons of defence."

THOMAS HUGHES, S. J.

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[1] Gerard, *Month ubi supra*, p. 360.

GOUNOD AND CHURCH MUSIC.

"Let us now praise men of renown . . . . such as by their skill sought out musical tunes, and published canticles of the Scriptures; rich men in virtue, studying beautifulness, living at peace in their houses."—ECCLUS., c. 44.

"GOUNOD is not a difficult subject," as an admirer of the great composer remarked, a few years since, in the *Fortnightly Review*.[1] In truth, the many-sidedness of his life and culture; the versatility of his musical genius, winning success and fame for him in nearly every department of composition; his engaging personality, free at once from the vulgar *hauteur* that too often follows on a sudden and mediocre success, and from that assumption of exclusivism in artistic perception which must seek to found a new school of composition; his well-rounded life, which —so rarely in the case of true greatness—could reward the patient sower with long fruition of his labors—these, and many other characteristic facts in the life-history of the man and musician, Charles François Gounod, present to the eye a kaleidoscopic wealth of beautiful impressions which should find record in a much larger notice of the composer than it is the design of this paper to give.

It is with difficulty, however, that one turns from the many details of such an engaging picture to study a very special phase of it, and that, too, in a very special light; viz., the artistic expression of Gounod in the compositions written by him for performance in the Church, viewed from the standpoint not of mere technical art, but of Catholic devotion (which is, after all, in the case of church music, the standpoint of the best art). Some of his characteristics will indeed be referred to in illustration of this view; but most of the wealth must be left untouched which, on every side of this subject, beckons to more delightful, if not more profitable, sojournings.

I.

The same writer quoted above, in a recent article in the *Fortnightly*, has given a pleasant picture of the aged composer and a rapid sketch of his life. Her apology for a somewhat brief notice shall be that of the present writer: that "the life of Gounod has been too often written for me to narrate it in detail." But another reason has determined us to select for special comment the church

[1] Marie Anne de Bovet: Gounod on "Art and Artists."

style of Gounod. If he has not created a new school of church music, he has at least been much more than a herald of better things in a high domain of musical art; he has treated sacred themes with constant appreciation of the reverence due both to them and to the holiness of the House of God. Since the death of Gounod, many notices of his life and many critiques of his style have appeared in current literature; and yet, of all those which have fallen under our eye, not one—strange to relate—has given any, even a superficial, attention to his "church style"; or, perhaps, we should rather say, to his church music. Nevertheless, precisely in this domain of art was his first signal success won and the foundation of his reputation laid.

In 1851, when the young composer was still quite unknown to fame, four of his works were produced at one of the monthly concerts in St. Martin's Hall, London. These compositions were: an unaccompanied Motett; a *Libera me*, from his Requiem Mass; the *Sanctus*, from his Messe Solennelle de Ste. Cécile; and a Bass Solo and "Crusader's March," the theme, *Peter the Hermit*, having a semi-religious character (the last three being performed with orchestral accompaniment). These four compositions, written with the inspiration of a religious theme, but produced without the accessories which usually give the force of vividness and appropriateness to dramatic music, and without even the dignity and pomp of religious ceremonial to give them their authentic interpretation, were nevertheless received by the audience and the public press with a wonderful consensus of favorable criticism.

The comment upon this concert by the London *Athenæum* was especially enthusiastic. It is well worth the while to quote its criticism here, not only because it emphasizes the first success of Gounod as a composer in the religious style, but also because it contains a very scholarly and accurate summary of the characteristics of Gounod's style, and a prediction of future glory for the young composer, which after years demonstrated to have been a prophecy: "On Monday evening, before the Frost Scene of Purcell and the Walpurgis Nacht of Mendelssohn, the four compositions of Gounod were performed. . . . . Within our critical experience we do not recollect any first appearance under parallel circumstances. The first execution of music, new in style, by an untried composer totally unknown to fame, in the presence of an audience entirely strange, and largely made up of musicians and of artists, home and foreign, very few of whom, by possibility, could have any partialities for a total stranger, makes up a case of ordeal at once more sudden and severe than most recorded in the history of Art. The success was decided, and, as was said by a veteran

musician near us, more habituated to listen than to praise, marks the commencement of a new era in Music. Of the four compositions brought to judgment, we shall speak only of the three orchestral ones; since of the effect of the unaccompanied Motett, owing to the sinking in pitch of the chorus, no fair opinion could be formed beyond a conviction of its soundness and excellence as a specimen of the purest writing in parts. The 'Libera me,' from a Requiem, is severe, dignified, and solemn, with a combination of voices on the gentle verse *Requiem sempiternam*, which is at once new, stately, and impressive. The 'Sanctus' from a Mass—a larger and more important composition—is the work by which M. Gounod's success was assured. In its ordinance and treatment, this Sanctus is original and beautiful. It commences with a solo for the tenor, the first strain of which is repeated by the orchestra, the chorus being merely subordinate. Then comes the second part of the *solo;* after which an admirably contrived *crescendo* leads back to the original theme, delivered with a pompous and jubilant *fortissimo*, for which the nave of St. Peter's at Rome would not be too large. To this succeeds a short, clear, and massive fugue on the 'Hosanna.' The Benedictus was treated in the old style of ecclesiastical chant for *Soprano solo* with organ only, the strain afterwards being repeated in chorus, the composition winding up with the usual return to the Hosanna, on its repetition strengthened by increase of force in the orchestra. To return to the melodic ideas of this work, we remember no melody simpler or sweeter in *cantilena* or loftier in its tone than that of the Sanctus. With a fulness of symmetrical beauty, justifying the old poets' epithet of 'ravishing,' is combined a devotional fervor and dignity which render the strain totally inapplicable to any secular purpose. We are not reminded of any other composer, ancient or modern, by form, phrase, or chord. The music is not new, if 'new' is to mean either flimsy or ugly; the music is not old, if to be 'old' is to be harsh and formal, to exhibit the hard scaffolding of science, behind which no beautiful structure exists. It is neither more nor less than the work of a thoroughly trained artist, and, what is more, the poetry of a new poet. . . . ." The critic next pays attention to the more secular "Peter the Hermit," and praises its dramatic power, and concludes as follows: ". . . . It is from the music itself, and neither from its performance nor from its reception, that we augur a career of no ordinary interest for M. Gounod, since, if there be not in these works of his a genius at once true and new, we must go to school again and learn the vocabularies of art and of criticism afresh."

Since the day when this glowing eulogy was written, the approval both of musicians and of the cultured public taste has given

full sanction to the above criticism. And it is worthy of special note, as bearing on the subject of this article, that, whereas the "Peter the Hermit" narrowly escaped an *encore*, the "Sanctus" was re-demanded unanimously. It has never lost its first charm, and even many repeated hearings of it serve only to strengthen one's admiration, and to confirm the first impressions of its over-mastering power, pathos, and dignity, with a sense of its wholly novel but wholly finished technical perfection. It is not to be wondered at that a repetition of that first concert should have been demanded and performed in the course of the same series of concerts.

We have said that the foundations of Gounod's after-fame were laid broad and deep in this, the first public presentation, in concert form, of his sacred compositions. We have given the opinion of only one of the many influential journals of that day. It is unnecessary to add the concurrent testimony of the others; for this one notice was translated into French, and its appearance in the newspapers of the metropolis of France was a warning to the gay throngs of Paris that they had been, unwittingly, entertaining an angel in their midst.

But these compositions of the young artist were but a few, out of many works written for the Church, even at that early period in his life. The first efforts of Gounod were devoted to the cause of sacred song. When he was only thirty-three years of age, he produced his first important composition—the Mass in honor of St. Philippe, written for three equal voices and full orchestra. Long before that, his Vienna Requiem (1842) won from Mendelssohn himself this flattering tribute: "*Mon ami*, this piece might be signed Cherubini." In 1849, he won another triumph in a Mass of his which was sung at the church of St. Eustache, in Paris.

II.

We now leave his record as a composer of church music, to notice that Gounod seems to have proved an unconscious apologist of the obscurity which shrouds his sacred music from general appreciation. While it is true that the critics have either passed this over in complete silence, or have given only the most perfunctory and most general notice of it, the composer seems, himself, to have been quite oblivious to his very special talents and accomplishments in this style of art. In a summary sketch of his life, up to his thirty-first year, furnished, at her request, to Mlle. de Bovet (*Fortnightly Review*, December, 1893), he makes no mention of his Masses; the record closing with his opera of "Sapho," *i.e.*, his "début at the theatre." "For the rest," said he, "see the catalogues of my publishers."

We venture to think that, despite his success as a dramatic artist, his *forte* lay not wholly in that direction. Indeed, but a few of his operas achieved anything like a notable success. When we have mentioned "Faust" (1859), "Roméo et Juliette" (1867), we have practically given the story of his dramatic success. His "Sapho" (1851), at once his first opera and his first love—he always cherished a special affection for this, the "first-born" of his dramatic works—satisfied the critics generally, but not the people. Even the critics were not wholly enthusiastic in its praise. Scudo, an influential critic of Paris, is quoted as saying, at the time of its first production: "Sapho, though not a good dramatic work, is the outcome of a distinguished musician, who possesses style and high aims. M. Gounod has seized upon and rendered most felicitously all the lyric portions of his subject, but he has been less fortunate in the numbers intended to express the conflict of passion, and the contrast of characters. . . . . It is possible—probable, even—that 'Sapho' will not remain long upon the boards; but the opera will have, nevertheless, secured for M. Gounod the sympathy of the artists, and a fair degree of renown, which will enable him in the future to court, with increased advantages, the favor of fortune." How different the tone of criticism which described the first production, not of operatic, but, of sacred music, in London, in the very same year! But both criticisms prophesied correctly; for Gounod's "Sanctus" still captivates alike both artist and layman; while "Sapho" has practically become a part of past history—only a few selections from it still retain a hearing.

Passing over the "Ulysse," a tragedy for which Gounod wrote many choruses, some of which have survived the death of the drama itself, we come to "La Nonne Sanglante," which did not attain even the short-lived success of "Sapho."

Then, in 1858, "Le Médecin Malgré Lui," a comic opera, arranged from Molière's comedy, achieved a better success; not because of its dramatic power, but of its lyric sweetness—one critic affirming his opinion that it has "not a particle of the *vis comica*." Then followed, in 1859, his masterpiece of "Faust." It is needless to attempt to praise this opera—it is immortal. But it may be worth while noting, in the spirit of our contention, the criticism of M. Gustave Chouquet: "The fantastic part of Faust may not be quite satisfactory, and the stronger dramatic situations are perhaps handled with less skill than those which are more elegiac, picturesque, or purely lyric. . . . ." Mr. Krehbiel does not sympathize with the dramatic view which Gounod took of Goethe's masterpiece: "The original intention of the librettists, and the logic of the drama, are consulted in placing the murder of *Valen-*

tine before the scene of *Margaret's* agony in the sacred edifice. The use of the duel as a finale has Gounod's sanction, and even favor, it is true, but there can scarcely be a question that it is the least beautiful, as it is the least dignified, of the two scenes, and that it prevents the development of the dramatic feeling of the play, which has a finer climax in the swooning of *Margaret* in the midst of the pomp and circumstance of the Holy Office, as Goethe conceived it, than in the vulgar butchery of a coarse-mouthed soldier. . . . . Moreover, in his treatment of the church scene, Gounod has done less violence to Goethe than in almost any other scene in the drama."

If Gounod justly received such criticism of this, his *masterpiece* in *opera*, may we not reasonably question whether, despite the phenomenal success of "Faust," his best genius lay in dramatic writing? Wherever the purely lyric, the descriptive, or the religious, mingled prominently with the progress of the dramatic action, Gounod achieved his most notable success!

Passing over his next efforts—"La Colombe" (a two-act opera, Englished into the "Pet Dove"); "Philémon et Baucis" (performed last year in Philadelphia for the first, and probably for the last time), the music of which is wedded to a libretto of mean dramatic force—we come to his third grand opera, "Reine de Saba," performed in England under the title of "Irene." Gounod seems to have selected again a poor libretto, and the work was not a success.

"Mireille," a five-act opera, was Gounod's *second* success. It is said, however, that to Mme. Miolan-Carvalho, and the other great artists who supported the principal parts, much of this success was due. Reduced to three acts, it was revived in 1876.

"Romeo et Juliette" (1867), a five-act opera, was only less successful than "Faust," but it does not now hold any place beside the masterpiece. It is scarcely worth the trouble to mention his grand operas of "Cinq Mars," "Polyeucte," "Le Tribut de Zamora," whose success was but slight—a *succès d'estime*.

Not so much, therefore, his dramatic instinct, as his exquisite melody, clarity of expression, just appreciation, and wonderful command of orchestral possibilities, tenderness, and, perhaps, an unconsciously fortunate selection of themes, contributed to make famous his two operas, of "Faust," with its sanction of Goethe's genius, and "Romeo et Juliette," with that of Shakespeare's dramatic power.

"Faust" is the unique opera, not because of the dramatic truth of its music so much as for its abstract beauty both of text and melody. Still, Gounod had not a little dramatic power, as we shall

find when we come to treat specifically of his compositions for the Church. The music of his operas is never wholly divorced in tendency from the meaning of the libretto: in this fact lies the strongest discrimination between his music and that of the typical Italian opera, and here we observe the approaches he made towards that truth of modern dramatic music which Wagner strove to attain. And here let us notice, that this just association of text (as expressive of thought) and music (as interpretative of text), which Gounod always aimed at in his operas, was also a prominent factor in the composition of his Masses. But here we are treading on dangerous ground—a very battle field of different factions of church music; and, for the present, we shall leave this portion of our subject for a brief space, in order to define more clearly our conception of what should properly be styled "church" music.

III.

The greatest possible latitude is found in the term "sacred music." With some writers, the text which is treated determines the musical naming of the work, no matter how trivial, worldly, or sensuous may be the musical setting. With others, the place of performance, or the sacredness of the occasion, is able to sanctify both text and artistic—or rather, inartistic—treatment; so that a purely human, sentimental piety, which parodies the supernatural devotion of Catholicity, finds its way into our churches, especially at funeral services, and becomes forthwith the appropriate expression of sacred emotion. With still a third class, the very day on which the music is performed is able to do more wonders than the alchemy of old claimed to do, in changing baser stuffs into gold. And thus it is, that "marches," operatic caprices, street-songs, take a prominent place in our Sunday concerts—these forthwith being styled "sacred."

What, then, is sacred music? But in a recent notice of Gounod a rather more startling term is employed to describe that music of his which cannot well fall under the heading, previously employed in the same article, of "Lyrical Drama." The "Music of the Altar" might naturally be supposed to be even more restrictive than the term "*sacred* music." We find, however, under this striking headline, no mention whatever of Gounod's Masses, but only the familiar faces of *The Redemption*, *Mors et Vita* and the *Ave Maria!* The first two of these works were never intended for performance even in a church, much less in the sanctuary.

The term "Church-music" has been adopted in the title to the present paper with the intention of avoiding, on the one hand, the extreme flexibility of the phrase "sacred music," and, on the

other, what we conceive to be the essential and unnecessary narrowness of the term "Altar"-music. We are, therefore, confining our attention to the compositions written by Gounod for performance in churches; and, specifically, in Catholic churches.

IV.

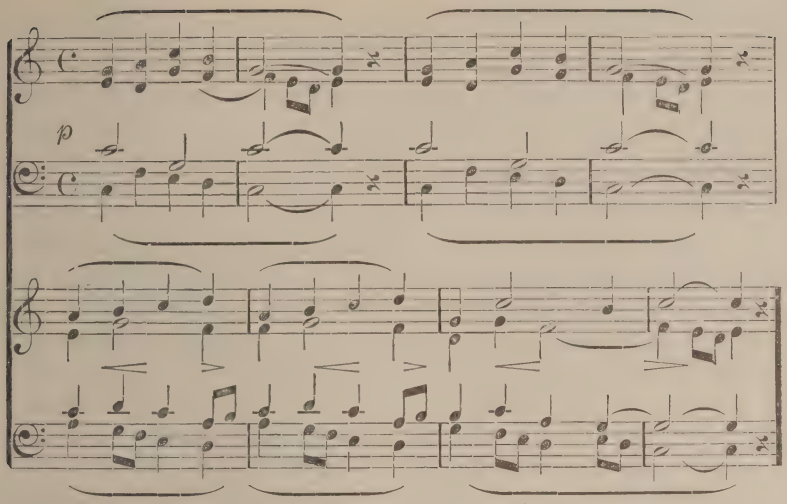
In ecclesiastical circles, Gounod's reputation as a composer of church-music rests almost solely on his Messe Solennelle de Ste. Cécile, and also, perhaps, on the much-sung, much-praised and much-abused *Ave Maria*, entitled by Gounod a "Meditation on Bach's First Prelude." His *Messe du Sacré Cœur de Jésus*, however admirable from a technical standpoint, has never proved very popular; while of his other masses only the *Second Mass of the Orphéonistes* has approved itself to a limited circle of hearers. The fact is, that the fate which pursued Gounod in the lyric drama followed him into the sphere of sacred art. The author of very many operas, several oratorios, not a few orchestral compositions, and a large collection of songs, is known popularly as "the author of *Faust*." Under this title he has been made the subject of an essay. Artists do not like to be spoken of as the authors of a single work. "Among the things that irritate them most is the common habit of continually quoting to them what is called their masterpiece, as if the rest of their works did not exist at all and should be regarded with calm condescension. How many persons, on being presented to Gounod, have I not heard say—they could think of nothing else—'Ah! cher maître . . . . *Faust* . . . . !'—as if that was his whole work. 'Thank you for it,' he might have answered, as I know he thought it, 'but there are a few other little works of mine.'" Thus Mlle. de Bovet; who, however, seems to ignore also a "few other little works" of the great composer besides his operas. We think some mention might well have been made of the two grandest inspirations of his sacred genius—the Mass in honor of St. Cecilia and that one dedicated so reverently to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Both are masterpieces, whether we consider them as expressions of religious emotion in liturgy or as simple oratorios dealing with a religious theme. On a single number of the first of these—the *Sanctus*—rested the first glowing triumph of the young composer and the prophecy of future triumphs so gloriously fulfilled.

But just as the author of many masterpieces is popularly known as "the author of *Faust*," so is he known to church-goers as the composer of one masterpiece. Most people are ignorant, or regardless, of the fact that other offspring of his sacred muse is entitled to an attention and patronage of the church-musician only

less in degree than that which is given to his "St. Cecilia" Mass. Indeed, one critic has recorded his opinion (Father Taunton: "History and Growth of Church Music," p. 87) of the superiority of the "Sacred Heart" Mass, even to that of "St. Cecilia:" "His second *Messe Solennelle*, known as the *Mass of the Sacred Heart*, is to my mind far the finest of all his composition, and is full of dignity and beauty." He thinks that "the *Benedictus* is to be counted the popular movement, and surely Gounod has never written a more delightfully melodious and graceful quartette than he has in this movement." "This Mass," he declares, nevertheless, "is not much known in England, owing most likely to there being no English edition, it being only published in Paris." Father Taunton wrote this in 1887. Before that date an American edition from engraved plates had appeared from the excellent press of G. Schirmer, New York (1883). It will doubtless be of interest to many of our readers to know that as early as 1874 this Mass was produced in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Philadelphia. The Mass had just been published in Paris, whence copies were imported. This was very probably its first performance in America. Still, we do not think the Mass has attained much success, possibly because of its constant employment of *fugato* treatment and quaint quasi-Gregorian phrases reiterated with great technical skill but apt to become tiresome to ears that are accustomed to more decided melodic forms.

It is, nevertheless, a pity that this Mass is not performed more frequently. Its beauty, obscure at first because of its novelty in phrase and counterpoint, will surely grow in the appreciation of the frequent listener. There is in it nothing but perfect repose, dignified and solemn exposition of the sense of the text, perfect contrapuntal skill, together with a rich but quiet elegance in melody which is peculiarly appropriate for the sacred function it is intended to adorn. But, like all of Gounod's sacred music, it requires an artistic and perfectly sympathetic performance by both voices and instruments—so truly is his music wedded to the words, so that the sound becomes indeed "an echo to the sense." In this necessity it approaches the peculiar essence of Gregorian chant, a dull, lifeless performance of which is very much less tolerable than golden silence, and has succeeded admirably in making that historic and venerable chant a by-word for all that is heavy and unmusical.

The first few measures of the *Kyrie* will illustrate the necessity of such artistic expression. Sung in a hard and dull style, they become mere exercises in counterpoint; sung with appropriate *crescendo* and *diminuendo* they become a wailing, *de profundis* cry for mercy.



This melodic progression seems to have been to Gounod's mind the most suggestive of supplication. The *Kyrie* of his Mass of St. Cecilia commences in precisely similar fashion—sol, la, do—but in slower time. The student of Gregorian Chant will immediately recall the intonation of the *Asperges me* and the *Gloria in excelsis.*

As the greatest part of the *Kyrie* consists of this phrase in variation, transposition and imitation, it is easy to imagine that when performed without true artistic expression the movement should be considered "heavy."

In the same way must the first movement of the *Gloria* be treated. While the voices of the *Sopranos* and *Altos* hold a long monotone to the text, the theme in the accompaniment consists of a simple pastoral figure, not extending beyond the limits of a fifth, repeated again and again to the soft drone of the voices. Everything should be here *pianissimo*, increasing to *piano* at the words *et in terra*, etc. The descriptive design of the composer becomes immediately apparent. The movement being introduced by the sudden *forte* call, as it were of heavenly trumpets dying away on the still air, the voices of the choirs of angels are heard chanting the celestial unison of "Glory to God in the highest." Softly, as coming from empyrean heights, the long strain floats down to earth, the while the shepherd's pipe reiterates its simple strain. The picture is a vivid one, and recalls the description of the "Noel" song:

> "Quiet stars and breezes chill
> Blown from every snowy hill
> Speak of Christmas only, till
> In our mind we seem to see

Shepherds bend adoring knee;
In our mind we seem to hear
Countless hosts of angels near
Blasts from silver trumpets blow,
As they did so loud and clear,
From the battlements of Heaven
On that calm and gracious even
Eighteen hundred years ago!"

The simple pastoral melody which, heard faintly in the instrumental prelude, brings before our minds the scene of the shepherds pictured by St. Luke with idyllic freshness and simplicity may have been suggested to Gounod as an apt musical device by Handel's employment of the old Calabrian melody in the *Pifa* of the Messiah. Simple as is the melody of this "Pastoral Symphony," it is richly varied in comparison with Gounod's theme.

The contrast of the *Laudamus Te*, *forte* and in *allegro*, shows how well the composer has used the quiet of the preceding movement as a foil to emphasize the *relatively* stronger force he desires in this next movement. He has thus succeeded in giving full, joyous expression to the text without overwhelming the ear with thunders of sound. Indeed, the fugal character of this movement forbids anything like a *fortissimo*, and the good taste of Gounod—perhaps his most striking characteristic in his sacred music—becomes apparent. He does not delight in too strongly-marked contrasts, *bizarre* whisperings and sudden explosions—tricks which the sciolist must depend upon for effect. And so, again, from the *piano* of the *Gratias agimus* he leads by a gradual *crescendo* up to the dignified *forte* of *propter magnam gloriam tuam.* The rest of the text is treated in fugal style, with several variations of theme, down to the *Suscipe*. He departs from the usual custom of writing a fugue for the *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, but at *in gloria tua*, recalling the *Laudamus Te*, he assigns to the text the same theme, fugally treated as before.

Gounod nowhere works out strictly in fugue form his exquisite themes. Imitation and quasi-fugal style seem to satisfy him. Whether this is to be looked upon as an excellence in music intended to be sung in church, or as a defect, we shall not pretend to decide. However, there is, perhaps, a merit in not attempting to burden an admirably conceived Mass with a technically difficult movement which would place the Mass beyond the possibility of rendition by the ordinary Catholic choir. The fugues of the Mass is B minor by Bach, not less than the colossal proportions of the work, have relegated its grand beauties to the safe study of the "Bach Society." The two fugues in Beethoven's Mass in C have not, indeed, kept it from rendition by the *profanum vulgus*. They

are not ponderous nor too long, and their exquisitely melodic and flowing themes are easily maintained by one part against the counter-subject and counterpoint that would otherwise tend to obscure them. As a rule, strict imitation would doubtless be preferable to fugue for Mass-treatment. But even to this Gounod does not seem to have paid much attention. It can be made very effective. Who can easily forget the triumphant grandeur of the simple imitation in two parts of Haydn's *Credo* (Third Mass). On the other hand, the fugues in Beethoven's magnificent Mass in D, however clear in theme, are treated with a bewildering counterpoint which quite effectually precludes any attempt at rendition by choirs. (It has been given in but one Catholic choir, we believe, in Philadelphia.)

Perhaps Gounod, like Rossini, did not like *fugue*. "Je n'aime pas la fugue," remarked the great Rossini to Cherubini. "Et la fugue ne vous aime pas," quietly replied the latter. Certain it is that Gounod does not dally long in such tangled thickets of sound. Having brought his company into what promises to be an animated discussion of a subject, he usually makes them agree quickly and, if we may be allowed the word, *harmoniously*, on some neutral ground.

But his subjects are always full of live and vigorous thought; and, doubtless, he attains his end in his church-music sufficiently well from an artistic point of view, without loading down the treatment with what might easily prove to be a surfeit of contrapuntal skill.

In the *Credo* he allows himself this style of fugal suggestiveness only at the *Et unam sanctam*, confining himself almost wholly to quaint harmonizations and different transpositions of the Gregorian-like phrase of the *Credo in unum Deum*. To modern ears both phrase and counterpoint alike seem to have anticipated the monotonous treatments found in his *Redemption* and in the *Messe à Jeanne d'Arc*. Constantly the text has to endure long and rather wearying choral recitatives on one note—the instrumental accompaniments, however, pleasantly foreshadowing the theme of the *Et unam sanctam*. The *Et ascendit in coelum* and *Sedet ad dexteram Patris* recall vividly the style of recitative in *Mors et Vita*: "*Ego sum Resurrectio et Vita*," etc. The *Sanctus* is a strong and effective *Maestoso* movement for five voices, begun and continued forte until the *Hosanna* which is given *fortissimo*. The *Benedictus* is, by contrast of softness, as well as of fugal movement, a perfect antithesis. It is impossible to describe for ears that have never heard its beauty the nature of that calm, heavenly charm that lingers about its strains. We begin to feel with Carlyle that such "music is well said to be the speech of angels."

The *Agnus Dei* is a much-admired number of this Mass, its opening melody, in perfect unison of voices and instruments, being repeated in the third *Agnus Dei* with strikingly beautiful part-writing.

Worthy of special notice is Gounod's *Seconde Messe des Orphéonistes* for male voices. He also arranged it for three female voices, and we have seen it arranged for a "Communion Service" for mixed voices. It is written throughout in a stately and impressive manner. The *Kyrie* is probably its most effective number. Gounod shows here how well he profited by the example of Beethoven in his popular C minor symphony. His reverence for Beethoven was very pronounced. It is said of him that "at the Institute, when he passed before Beethoven's bust, he never missed marking with his finger on the marble the time of the four initial quavers of the Symphony in C minor, then bowing very low he saluted." The figure which forms the inspiration of this Kyrie is also one of four notes, which, by varying with a genius not wholly unlike that of the great master, he developed into wonderfully effective exposition of the text—a cry for mercy, reaching in its triple announcement a constantly growing altitude and pathos. The *Qui tollis* of the *Gloria* is admirably conceived, the *Suscipe* forming a fine dramatic climax to the *crescendo*. As in the *Credo* of the former Mass we have just been considering, so in this Credo Gounod delights in a frequent repetition of a simple figure, or rather passage, which gives a strong mediæval cast to the whole number. At the *Et incarnatus est* Gounod proves in serious fashion the musical creed of Hudibras that

> Discords make the sweetest airs.

The Sanctus, like that of the "Sacred Heart" Mass, is a strong, measured, pompous movement. The *O Salutaris*, which, as in his *First Mass of the Orphéonistes*, takes the place of a *Benedictus*, is exquisite. In an American arrangement of the composer's incomplete *Missa Angeli Custodes* it has been arranged for the text of the *Benedictus*—at the expense, very naturally, of not a little of its tender beauty. It is a great pity that this Mass is not heard more frequently. Although written for male voices, and subject, therefore, to some essential heaviness on that account, its fine interpretation of the liturgical texts, its massive harmonies, and—considering the limitations of compass it must observe—its real melodic excellence, should commend the Mass to greater attention. It is neither too long nor excessively difficult—a choir of seminarians having been readily trained to sing it successfully on several occasions in Philadelphia.

We are led, in this connection, to speak of the "First" Mass for the *Orphéonistes*. It is not, as far as we know, published either in England or in America. The Italian edition before us as we write has the simple title: *Messa di Gounod: agli Orfeonisti*. It is written for two sopranos, two tenors and bass, and is arranged so that it may be sung by two tenors and bass, with or without the accompaniment of the organ. It is, like the *Angeli Custodes*, an incomplete Mass, both of these lacking the *Credo*. However acceptable it might prove for five voices, with organ, we are inclined to think that three male voices alone could scarcely serve to color sufficiently its severe, not to say rigid, simplicity.

The opening words of the *Gloria* seem to have possessed for Gounod a special attraction. He has striven to give them as novel, and at the same time, as correct a musical exposition as possible. We have already alluded to the success with which he has done this in his "Sacred Heart" Mass. He has, in his Troisème Messe Solennelle (de Pâques), varied the treatment but preserved the picture. The greeting from heaven is announced in a soft quartette of female voices, in a rhythm which skilfully cheats the sense into the apprehension of a free, unmeasured recitative. Flutes and clarinets proceed with the voices until the last strain dies away, leaving the harps a faint hearing in a few broken chords which lead up to an answering quartette of male voices, accompanied by bassoons and horns. This is a repetition—in lower pitch, of course, but identical in key—of the preceding strains, and may easily suggest the unconscious repetition of the words of the angel by the wondering shepherds. Again, the celestial harmonies are heard heralding "Peace on earth to men of good-will." Gounod marks the time with pure reference, in plain chant style, to the prosodial value of the syllables. Again the harps introduce the repetition in male quartette of the same phrase. At the *Laudamus Te* he departs from the universal custom of giving this text a strong, jubilant setting; but, instead, leads from a soft initial theme, by *crescendo*, to a loud *Adoramus Te*, contradicting here, again, the universal treatment of this phrase.

At the *Domine Fili*, where the first specific reference is made to Our Saviour in the text of the *Gloria*, he introduces, in the style of Wagner's *leit-motiv*, a figure of four notes in the accompaniment. He repeats and develops this figure throughout the whole musical setting of the text as far as it relates to our Saviour—down that is to say, to *Quoniam Tu Solus*, etc., when he ceases to employ it. Similarly, in the *Credo*, after the *Et incarnatus*—when "unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given"—the theme reappears changed slightly, and continues to be heard constantly through the brief summary of the mortal life of Christ on earth, down, that

is, to the *Et resurrexit.* The mind immediately reverts to the exquisite *motif* of the Saviour in the *Redemption*; indeed, this Mass was composed while the mind of Gounod was filled with his conception of the "work of my life" as he styled this great oratorio.

Gounod employs this idea of a leading-motive—a phrase or subject whose very marked musical individuality shall immediately suggest the personage, emotion or abstract idea with which, in any dramatic work, it is first associated, whensoever the same person or idea is to figure prominently in the scene—in his Messe à Jeanne d' Arc. Of course, the only significance here could be the association, by some musical device, of a historic name with the Mass written to commemorate it, and not the dramatic heralding of the scenic or imaginative advent of the person. This heroine possessed the fascination of patriotism and religion for his loyal and devout soul. So greatly was he moved with veneration for her saintly memory that he declared that his Mass in her honor should be written by him in the Cathedral of Rheims, the while his knees should press the historic stone—preserved there still—on which she knelt at the coronation of Charles VII.

In the *Credo* of this Third Mass we have an opening movement very like that of the *Credo* of Bach's great Mass in B minor. There Bach takes as *Cantus Firmus* the intonation of the *Credo* as sung by the priest at the altar, and while making it the subject of a massive fugue, accompanies it with continuous instrumental bass. Although Gounod does not construct a fugue here, his melody is simple in the extreme, constantly suggesting a Gregorian original, and is accompanied by a *basso continuo* down to the *Et incarnatus.* With what eminent success he had previously done this in his "St. Cecilia" Mass every one knows, and he is to be pardoned if that genuine *inspiration* finds not in his Third Mass a worthy compeer.

Expression is a cheap commodity, thoughts are very rare in the market; and poet and musician alike may not forever breathe the pure air that bathes the heights of Olympus.

V.

The same judgment may be passed on this whole work when our minds have once recalled any portion of what is, after all, his masterpiece of sacred writing—the Mass dedicated to St. Cecilia. If he had written nothing else but this, his reputation in music, like that in poetry of the Angel of the Schools for his Eucharistic Hymns, or of Gray for his *Elegy*, should need no more enduring foundation. We shall close this fragmentary review of some of his Masses, therefore, with a few words concerning this *masterpiece.* It has ever seemed so to our mind, although a very competent critic has declared in favor of his "Sacred Heart" Mass for this

crowning honor. If we may conclude aught in this matter from the popularity of the former, its performance as an oratorio in a secular hall, its undoubted dramatic power, its influence on the emotions—then must the palm of merit be awarded to the St. Cecilia Mass.

Gounod approached the composition of this Mass with all the fresh enthusiasm of youthful genius, tempered by a deep and abiding reverence for the Liturgy which should be its subject-matter. He had not yet tasted the unwelcome cup of his want of dramatic success—had not sought expression according to any definite principle of art, except that highest of principles—good taste. He had only tempered, not rejected, the suggestion of a quasi-dramatic exposition of certain portions of the text of the Mass, and had not therefore arrived at the monotous simplicity which became a principle with him in the composition of his Oratorios. Full of life and vigor, his piety was not unlike that of Haydn, whose bubbling joyousness was nevertheless tempered in Gounod by the graver mould of a more mystical soul. He had Haydn's joy and his reverential temper, without his childlike playfulness. When rebuked for writing to his solemn texts a gush of melodic sweetness that captivated rather than awed the soul, Haydn replied that he could not help it—he looked on God, not as a criminal on a judge but as a child on the tenderest and most indulgent of fathers: "I cannot help it, I give forth what is in me. When I think of God, my heart is so full of joy that the notes fly off as from a spindle; and as he He has given me a cheerful heart, He will certainly pardon me if I serve Him cheerfully."

Gounod's piety was full of Catholic joy, but much less playful. His Mass shows us no chilling effect of that kind of piety which came in with the Reformation. But like the poet Mangan (who always wrote the name of GOD in capital letters), his piety clothed itself in graver expression.

Compare his later compositions, such as the *Third Messe Solennelle* and his two Oratorios with his St. Cecilia Mass, and, except for certain peculiar chords and the still genuine greatness of a thorough artist and composer, Gounod would scarce be thought the author of all of these works. It is said of him that in composing the Redemption he expressed "a new ideal of dramatico-religious style, which he calls 'music treated in the style of fresco' (*musique plane et peinte à fresque*)," and that this "seems to have first occurred to Gounod when he turned his attention to religious subjects in order to emulate the reputation of Berlioz's 'Enfance du Christ' and Massenet's 'Marie Magdaleine,' and desired to introdece innovations on the work of his rivals. He has made simplicity an absolute rule. The long recitatives on a single note, or

rising and descending by semitones, the solo parts proceeding invariably by the intervals of a third, a sixth or an octave, while the choral and orchestral parts adhere to incessant reiterations of the same chords; these impart a monotony and a heaviness to the work which must weary the best disposed audience."

This "*musique plane et peinte à fresque*" is not found in the St. Cecilia Mass; in which the composer has bound himself down to but one principle; that of a free, unscholastic, reverent, dramatico-religious treatment which should combine fresh melody, able choral movements, and perfect instrumentation with all its vast possibilities exercised not in the style of Berlioz ("the more the merrier") but in that of Handel, or better, of Mozart re-editing Handel, namely, out of small means working grand effects. This large principle in its last analysis is, as we have said, the principle of "good taste" in music. Originality can scarce flourish where "schools" come into the question. Gounod might well have taken to heart the enthusiastic criticism which we have quoted, almost entire, from the *Athenæum* of forty years ago—a criticism whose glowing eulogy was based on a single number of his St. Cecila Mass: "The music is not new if 'new' is to mean either flimsy or ugly—the music is not old, if to be 'old' is to be harsh and formal. . . . . It is neither more nor less than the work of a thoroughly trained artist—and, what is more, the poetry of a new poet."

This Mass is indeed a poem—"the poetry of a new poet." But it is so familiar to the ears of our readers, that any attempt to describe it would be a work of supererogation. It may, however, prove acceptable to draw attention to Gounod's setting of the *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* As in his other "solemn" Masses, so here, the text receives wonderfully beautiful and descriptive interpretation. We do not refer merely to the exquisite melody, whose "linked sweetness long drawn out" seems to be an echo to some heavenly quiring, nor to the almost oppressive grandeur of the *Laudamus Te.* As pure music their merits need not be dwelt upon.

But Gounod would also present us with a musical picture whose chiaroscuro rivals Corregio's masterpieces. Not more gracefully nor more vividly does the *Notte* of the latter bring the typic Christmas before us than does the tone-painting of Gounod. The splendors beaming from the head of the sleeping Infant do not, indeed, throw a heavenly radiance on the bleak hills of Bethlehem; but in this tone-picture,

> As down dark tides the glory slides,
> And star-like, mingles with the stars,

we see the shaft of light leading down from the opened heavens, and a vision of Angels—

With folded feet, in stoles of white,
On sleeping wings they sail.

The quiet air throbs with a music scarce distinguishable from the many-toned voices that the heart surmises in the mysterious watches of the night. "A gentle sound, an awful light"—Tennyson's phrase is a perfect description of the opening measures of this *Gloria*.

Gounod here employs a musical expedient which, in other hands than those of a master, would be puerile and unworthy—the *bouche fermée*. Those who have heard his "By Babylon's Wave," will recall immediately his employment of the same device to represent the "moaning" of the "low wind wearily moaning." Plainly, such a means for producing expression may not be lightly used, and is very apt to degenerate into amateurish frivolity. But the picture he seeks to describe in this *Gloria* receives from it a very telling emphasis of coloring. The open gates of heaven do not permit alone the sound of the single messenger's voice; but echoes of the celestial jubilees steal out as well, and mingle their far cadences with the authentic announcement of "Peace on earth to men of good will." In the melody given to the soprano solo, as, indeed, in many other solos in this Mass (*i.e.*, the *Benedictus*, the *Domine non sum dignus*), Gounod shows how thoroughly his soul was imbued with the beauty, and the essentially recitative character of Plain Chant. A correct interpretation of his melody by the singer will require, therefore, a free recitative style, not bound down to the mathematical measurements of notes or measures, as in modern music, but governed almost wholly by the idealization desired so evidently by Gounod—namely, the quite unearthly music we should naturally expect of a visitor from beyond "the music of the spheres," beyond even

". . . . the palest star
Pinnacled in the lofty ether dim."

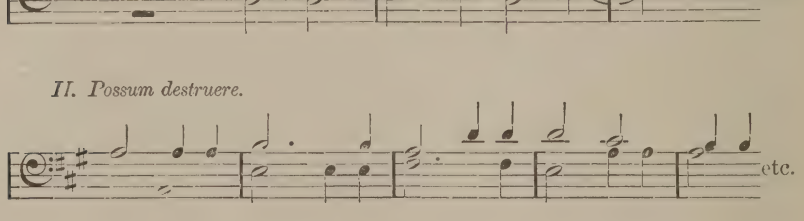
The angel has announced the birth of the Saviour, "and immediately there was with him a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God;" and so the "storms of heavenly noise" come to our ears in the *Laudamus Te*, made more impressive by contrast with the delicate *oscuro* of the preceding section. The picture is a triumph of musical art.

The many exceptional and truly artistic features of this Mass would require more space for their analysis than may be spared here—the novelty of conception and treatment; the careful restraint of the dramatic impulse within due limits, and, at the same time, its due employment to emphasize the meaning of the text; the unique, untraditional form in which the composer casts certain

sections of the text; the wholly original inspiration found in his *cantilena*, whether vocal or instrumental; the novel combinations of chords and cadences! What "Faust" is among Gounod's operas, that is this Mass among his sacred compositions.

VI.

Our title to this paper should warn us to confine our attention, principally, to Gounod's *Masses*. But a passing word might be said with reference to his other "sacred" compositions. It is needless to speak at greater length of the two grand Oratorios; for judgment, favorable and unfavorable, has been freely passed upon them. The *Redemption*, written to an English text, is thereby taken out of the category of Catholic church music. The *Mors et Vita*, possessing the merit of a Latin text, for which it was written (and not laboring, therefore, under the disadvantages to which any text is liable when turned from a vernacular into Latin), could furnish many portions appropriate for performance in a church, and even during the public functions of the Liturgy. Notably, with a little editing, could the first part of the great "Trilogy" serve as an ordinary *Requiem* Mass. In strong contrast with the generally monotonous character of this work, is the tender pathos of the melody *Felix Culpa*—an elegant scholastic specimen of homophonic composition The *Quaerens Me*, a duet, with polyphonic accompaniment, is worthy of special mention. It might be of interest here—perhaps, an instance of "unconscious absorption," as the modern euphemism has it—to point to a curious identity of the first measure of the *A Custodia Matutina* with a portion of Ett's "Turba" music—"Possum destruere Templum Dei:"



In the text of the *Dies Iræ*, Gounod follows strictly the Roman Missal, and rejects, therefore, the old verse, *Crucis expandens vexilla*, which was the Parisian emendation of *Teste David cum Sibylla*. Throughout the whole work, one will notice the strict respect for prosodial emphasis, which here, as in nearly all his music, compels Gounod to so fashion his apportionment of the words to the

rhythm of the music as to avoid the frequent fault of composers for the Church—namely, letting the accent of the modern *mathematical* measure fall on an unaccented syllable of the Latin text, or *vice versa*. Very prominent in this portion of his oratorio, is the *motiv* by which, as he says, he seeks to express "the terror inspired by the sense of the inflexibility of Divine justice, and, in consequence, by that of the anguish of punishment. This melodic form, which is employed both in ascending and descending order, presents a sequence of three major seconds. Its sternness gives expression, both to the sentences of Divine justice, and the sufferings of the condemned. . . . ." This *tritonus*, the "monstrum horrendum, informe" of Gregorian Chant prohibition, is, certainly, a most startling sequence; and the dramatic effect Gounod desired is, in a measure, attained by it. But perhaps it is, as one critic has thought, *too* awful! He thinks the "inexorable something" suggested by it, is "inexorable ugliness; it inspires terror instead of expressing it, especially when it is harmonized; all those whose ears are not hardened to harsh cacophony, feel alarm whenever it becomes evident that the dreadful sequence is imminent."[1]

His "Gallia," a motet for soprano solo, chorus, orchestra, and organ, is a setting of a portion of the "Lamentation" of Jeremias, the prophet. As the text is in Latin, it could be used during Holy Week services, or as a Lenten service. The title, *Gallia*, explains the appropriateness of the piece to the date of its first performance. It was composed for the opening of the International Exhibition, 1871, in London, and was given on the first day of May of that year. France lay humbled and prostrate at the feet of Prussia, after the four months' campaign. "*Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo.*" The theme was surely a "lamentation."

"How lieth the city solitary, she that was full of people: how is she become as a widow . . . . . how is she put under tribute!" Widowed indeed of fair provinces, and put under an indemnity-tribute of a fabulous sum, Gallia was to the patriotic heart of Gounod as Jerusalem of old to the mourning prophet.

His *De Profundis*, with Latin text; *Stabat Mater* and "Seven Last Words," are also "Church" compositions worthy of a place in a Lenten repertoire. His settings of the *Ave Verum*, one for four, another for five voices; and a third for treble solo and quartette; his *O Salutaris* for quartette and chorus ("O Saving Victim, in A); the *Sicut Cervus* for four voices, are readily accessible to our choirs, and would prove very acceptable as well.

VII.

His two meditations on Preludes by Bach—the first on the 1st

[1] H. E. Krehbiel, *Review of the New York Musical Season*, 1885–1886.

and the second on the 2d of the celebrated "48," may also be classed as "Church" music. The first is much better than the second, and has appeared in many different arrangements and transpositions. The composer styled his melody a "meditation" on the Prelude—it is rather an inspiration. It has, nevertheless, met with some adverse criticism. One writer speaks of it as "a *jeu de plume*, on the proprieties of which we will not decide, but which is unquestionably extremely popular." Louis Ehlert in his essay "Gounod *contra* Wagner,"[1] uses it as an *argumentum ad hominem*. To those who love this little gem of melody wedded to a gem of harmony, it will doubtless be interesting to hear his complaint. "In a communication addressed to Jules Comettant in the *Siècle*, Charles Gounod recently issued a pathetic defense against an attack that he supposed Wagner had made upon the Ninth Symphony. With all my admiration for one of the most graceful of French composers, I cannot suppress the conjecture that he could not have been well informed in this case. It will also appear a significant bit of irony that the hand, stretched forth in the cause of this classical salvation, should be the same hand that made the celebrated first Bach Prelude the foil of that well-known transcription, that has received so merited a degree of popularity at the hands of our garden-orchestras and hand-organ grinders. It might be regarded as a bolder act to impose one's fancies upon a renowned masterpiece, than to assist from purely practical motives to a more perfect comprehension of its inherent thoughts. To prevent misunderstanding, I will say that I have no objection, except in this particular connection, to the slight barbarism that underlies Gounod's 'Meditation sur le premier prélude de S. Bach.'" It should, we think, rather be a cause of congratulation than of condemnation, that Bach has been made—even if for a brief, blissful moment—to appear to the popular taste as a living reality in music, and not as an antiquated *curio*. Bach is supreme to the musician, but he is "*caviare* to the general;" and any open advertising of his name—and Gounod scrupulously affixed to his own bit of inspiration a title which should clearly acknowledge his indebtedness both to the Prelude and its composer—or of the reverence paid to that name by a leading modern musician, must be considered alike a desirable help to popular appreciation of the master and a grateful lesson of sympathy and disinterestedness to the professional musician. Moscheles, senior to Gounod by twenty-two years, and a sincere admirer of the "author of Faust," was so charmed by the latter's "Meditation," and saw so clearly the importance of thus illustrating and perchance popularizing Bach, that he determined to set to other Preludes of Bach a melody

[1] From the *Tone World*, translated by Helen Tretbar.

for violincello. He afterwards arranged these with consummate skill for two pianos. But he, like Gounod, met censure for this irreverent treatment of such "*noli me tangere*" masterpieces. "This work was to Moscheles a labor of love, although he was severely censured by some pianists, who questioned the propriety of making additions to Bach; the majority, however, of amateurs and art judges were charmed with the orchestral effects, and the contrapuntal treatment of these compositions. Moscheles thus states his own opinion: 'I am praised or soundly rated for my setting of these 'Preludes,' but possibly my melodies may promote the study of these works among students, who, in the absence of the accompaniments, would find them dry and unattractive. If so, shall I be perfectly satisfied; a deeper insight into Bach's works cannot fail to further the progress of art. While setting these melodies, I am in the same position as our romance writers, who can ventilate an important question of the day more effectively in some fictitious disguise than in a dry treatise.'"

The defence which the veteran pianist and composer felt compelled to make shall be the greater apology of a greater man—Gounod; and the adverse criticism of an exclusive cult can weigh but little against the universal suffrage of an appreciative public.

VIII.

After this partial survey of the music written by Gounod for the Church, how shall we estimate him, or rather, his style? It has been the province of this article thus far to let a passing criticism of his works pronounce an indirect judgment. But as a conclusion, that judgment may be stated more formally and precisely—namely, that the real genius of Gounod lay in the direction of Church music. The bent of his mind, his training and culture, fitted him in a very special manner for success in this domain of art. If he did indeed achieve success in two of his operas, we can scarce judge this a conclusive proof that he found in dramatic music his legitimate sphere of activity. Even his setting of sensual ideas and texts is melodically sacred; and there is much significance in the remark made to Gounod by a certain royal personage, that after the Church services had been finished, the religious stimulus was kept up by his hearing, in the afternoon of Sunday, the music of *Faust*. Part of the indefinable charm of the composer's secular music is its strangeness; its grave sweetness, Gregorian-like changes and cadences, its emotional mysticism—all these characteristics render it wholly unlike what is popularly known as "operatic" music. Put a biblical text to that musical treatment, and his opera becomes an oratorio.

Gounod should have confined himself to the composition of

church music. The most native instincts of his character, the influences which hourly moulded his temperament, the associations he formed, were mostly of a religious kind. His religious training began in the very best of schools, for his mother has been described as "a woman of rare merit and lofty piety." When, in the early bloom of manhood, he obtained the grand prize of the Institute, and accordingly set out for Rome, he was still the "timid and modest young man," says Mlle. De Bovet, "who had grown up in a calm, healthy family atmosphere of enlightened piety and gentle austerity, filled with respect and love for his elders in age and knowledge, from whom he learnt to govern the impulses of his heart and to formulate the dreams of his imagination." His residence in Rome proved still a healthful tutorship in the paths of quiet contemplation. Not alone its religious aspect, but its historic past, Pagan and Christian, its Christian present and future, exercised a subtle and soothing influence upon him. His own words shall best describe his impressions of that "capital, not of a country, but of humanity:"

"I must confess that Rome did not at first correspond to the dreams my fancy had conceived. I was still too young in years, and especially in character, to lay hold of and to take in at first glance the deep signification of that great and austere city, which struck me as cold, dry, cheerless, and gloomy, and which speaks with a voice so low that it can be heard only by ears trained to silence and solemn contemplation. Rome is itself so many things, and those things are wrapped in such profound calm, in such quiet and serene majesty, that it is impossible at once even to suspect its marvellous whole and the inexhaustible store of its many-sided wealth. Its past like its present, its present like its future destiny make it the capital, not of a country, but of humanity. Any one who has lived there long knows this well; and whatever nation claims our loyalty, or whatever tongue is ours, Rome speaks a language so universal that it is impossible to turn our back upon it without feeling that we are turning away from our native land."

He left Rome for Germany with the feeling of one who turns his back on a dear home and on "that Rome which had become a second home to me. . . . . As long as the highroad permitted, I kept my eyes fixed on the dome of St. Peter's, that 'high place' of Rome and centre of the world; then the hills caught it away wholly from my sight, and I surrendered myself, weeping bitterly, to my sad reflections."[1]

We have already seen how the ardor of this youthful noviciate showed itself in his earliest sacred compositions. That first influ-

[1] "Gounod in Italy and Germany," *The Century*, January, 1892.

ence exercised its power throughout his whole after life, so that, unlike many other authors well known as composers of church music, he never forgot his first love, but in the midst of dramatic authorship produced many sacred pieces. It is needless to refer to his strong leaning towards the priesthood, nor to the fact that for several years he studied theology at the Ecole des Carmes, and was also, for a long time, precentor at the Church of the Missions Etrangères. In his last years, however, "like the eagle," he "renewed his youth" in all of its old fervor. His two sacred trilogies, his Messe à Jeanne d'Arc, his Fourth Messe Solennelle, are rehearsals, in a more subdued key, of the sacred melodiousness of his youth. A church musician always, he became such solely and wholly in his older age. And just as the first foundations of his after-fame were laid in his Messe Solennelle (St. Cecilia), so he wished to be known to future generations, not as the author of *Faust*, but of *The Redemption*, which he styled "the work of my life." It is said that he was nearly overcome by emotion at the Birmingham Festival when he conducted personally this great work.

It is not surprising that such a religious soul should have conceived and executed his religious masterpieces in a wholly reverent spirit. His music, while it shows us much that is original, never degenerates into the *bizarre*. He has known how to give dramatic force to a text whenever the spirit of the Liturgy would permit or suggest such treatment, without sacrificing any of the necessary respect for "the beauty of God's house and the place where His glory dwelleth." And, therefore, although he was an ardent admirer and student of Beethoven's works, he had the nice instinct of good taste which indicated to him the questionable character of Beethoven's dramatic emphasis in the *Credo* of the great Mass in D. There, desiring to emphasize the eternal duration of Christ's kingdom, Beethoven not only repeats the word *non* of *non erit finis* in the body of the movement, but lets the movement close, not on the phrasal ending of the text, which should be the appropriate place for such a conclusion, but on the word *non*, uttered with triple insistence—the first two times *sforzando*, the last time *fortissimo*.

Gounod's dramatic emphasis—well illustrated in the *Credo* of his St. Cecilia Mass—is always moderate and intelligibly descriptive, but is also sufficiently marked to draw attention to the spiritual content of the text.

With regard to his reverent and prayerful treatment of the texts, it is well to notice in passing what little repetition of words or phrases, and what little interruption of the sequence of the text he allows his musical genius to feed itself upon. Again is the master

discerned. His musical thought is not a strait-jacket into which the living body of the liturgical text is to be thrust and cramped; is not a Procustean bed on which its finely-moulded limbs are to be stretched or shortened. We are tempted to institute comparisons here which should demonstrate, in one direction, Gounod's title to the palm as a church composer; but besides being odious, such comparisons might prove very tedious, and we shall allow ourselves space merely to consider briefly one other peculiarity of Gounod's church music—its technical excellence.

His broad training made it impossible for him to be a fanatic—to belong to a "school." He was, first of all, a loving disciple of the spirit and genius of Palestrina.

His residence in Rome gave him exceptional opportunities of studying that "Prince of Musicians" in the only proper way; for Palestrina's music needs not merely the patient analysis of the pupil, but the authoritative interpretation of the master as well. In this it is like plain chant; all the books in the world will not give to that venerable collection of melodies their just meaning and value without *viva voce* illustration of their accent, rhythm, phraseology, content. But Gounod listened with all the ardor of a novice to the traditional manner of rendering Palestrina. "It was in the difficult works of the great Church contrapuntist," as Mlle. de Bovet remarks, "that Gounod openly said he had gained his knowledge of methods, his freedom of hand, his ease in the management of the different parts, his dexterity of composition, without which all the inspiration in the world is insufficient to make a finished musician. 'Wonderful gymnastics,' he said. 'It hardens the muscles and makes the joints supple; it enriches the blood and soothes the nerves; it armors an artist against all the practical difficulties with which his profession bristles.'"

To this fundamental training he added the clarity of form and gracefulness of diction of the author of *Don Giovanni.* Mozart, indeed, seems to have been his idol. Again, Beethoven contributed depth and intensity; Schumann, the subjectiveness of romanticism; while Mendelssohn, whom Gounod soon learned to love, doubtless helped to mould the soul of the young artist by the influence of that solemn, tender, religious style which is so peculiarly the property of the author of *Elijah.* Possibly we should add the name of Wagner to our list; certainly, Gounod seems to have imitated his cardinal principle—if, indeed, he did not borrow it from him—of the "leading motive" in some of his Masses and in his two grand trilogies. From his contemporaries of the operatic school in France and Italy Gounod did not derive much, if any, formative influence to shape and dictate the character of his style. And here we perceive the fine discrimination between Gounod's

music, which is all sacred in character, and the modern French and Italian styles of Church music. His music is essentially sacred.

Two passing, but unfavorable, allusions to his sacred music have come under our eye. One eminent critic—an ardent admirer of plain chant—has nothing less harsh with which to describe Gounod's choral Church-music than the phrase "sensuous beauty." And a recent writer in *The English Illustrated Magazine*, who does not pretend to give anything but a summary estimate of Gounod's music, makes this passing allusion to his Church music: "He will ever remain the great musician of earthly love, but of that love only."

Against both of which concurrently adverse criticisms we venture to record an emphatic protest. It is very easy to formulate general criticisms, but very difficult to approve them always to an honest judgment by a strict analysis of the works in question. Quite frequently a principle governs such criticisms which is quietly assumed as a postulate of common-sense, but which is open to the fairest-minded, if not even the hottest, questioning. Acting upon his own principle, the Gregorian ultra-purist will scarcely "tolerate" the Palestrina style. The disciple of the "Prince of Church Musicians" will, if he is consistent, look askance at Mendelssohn's churchly music; the lover of that tender Protestant's muse will, with him, consider Haydn's Masses to be "scandalously gay;" those genial spirits whose piety—if it do not prompt them, David-like, to dance and sing before the Ark of the Covenant (to the undisguised horror of some reproving Michol)—must at least bubble over with the joyousness of him whom a Mozart learned to style "Papa"—these lovers of Haydn will vote Cimarosa, Pacini, and their present-day disciples frivolous and unchurchly. And (if we may descend into still lower depths), doubtless, these last will be convulsed with merriment over the "imus, imus praecipites" composers, who, desirous only of harmony—not in the music, but in the musicians—must give every member of the choir at least three solos in the course of a single "Gloria," and must therefore rush headlong into precipices whither the thought alike of liturgist and of artist scarcely will venture to follow!

In estimating a criticism we must, therefore, first estimate the critic, unless, indeed, he condescends to an artistic analysis based, not on personal dogmatism, but on general musical reason; then may we pass by the critic to consider the criticism.

This runs as follows: "No one will attempt to say that the sensuous beauty, either of Rossini's 'Messe Solennelle' or Gounod's, is the highest type of perfection to which a choral composer can aspire." We might well stop to quarrel with such a juxtaposi-

tion of names; but proceeding to compare the criticism with the principle behind it, we shall find that Gounod was not a notable follower of the Polyphonic School of Church Missions—*hinc illae lacrymae.* Having given the criticism, we append the "principle:" "Since the downfall of the Polyphonic Schools the true Church Style—the 'Stilo alla Capella' of the sixteenth century—has lain entirely dormant." What is the "true Church Style?" Perhaps we should offend if, defining *truly* the *true Church Style*, we should sweep everything—Polyphony and Homophony—aside in favor of what Louis Schneider, with great pathos and mixed metaphor, has styled "the simple, earnest, strictly diatonic, proscribed poor garment of Christ, the liturgical song." Plain Chant is, after all, the "strictly diatonic garment" which the texts of the Liturgy should wear.

What, then, is the "sensuous beauty" of music? There is a purely mechanical counterpoint which, because it violates no rule, appeals to the intellect and baffles the censure of the teacher. It is like the Latin "poetry" manufactured in our seminaries—Horatian or Virgilian in everything but beauty. Such music has really only one defect—it is not music.

Then there is the music which, while it flatters the sense—as it is of the essence of music to do—gratifies also the intellect by its skilful development of subject, its clarity of form and expression, its well-defined content, its sudden delicate surprises of chord or of melodic progression, and the many other graces which are more or less amenable to scholastic rule. There is here, therefore, the genius of artistic manipulation as well as the genius of inspiration. Its "sensuous beauty" can never be wanting; but while the "profane crowd" are contented therewith, the gods dwelling on high Olympus receive the added pleasure of intellectual satisfaction—even as the knife of the botanist can reveal to him a deeper beauty in the flower.

In this view all music must be at least *sensuous*. But the word has ordinarily a repugnant meaning. There is a suggestiveness in some melodic and harmonic progressions which (whether essentially or habitually it concerns us not to inquire) may be considered "voluptuous" in its bad sense. The sensuous beauty of Gounod's music is certainly not of this kind. His Church music—whether it be styled sensuous or intellectual or what not—is sacred and inspiring. Sacred does not necessarily mean *sad*, *gloomy*, "strictly diatonic," oppressively contrapuntal; but neither may it be voluptuous and worldly. What has been said of the *Sanctus* of the St. Cecilia Mass might with even greater force be said of all the other numbers of that Mass: "With a fulness of symmetrical beauty justifying the old poet's epithet of 'ravishing' are

combined a *devotional fervor and dignity which render the strain wholly inapplicable to any secular purpose.*" It labors under no affectation of newness or oldness, and will claim to be sacred music in virtue only of its own inherent beauty and dignity. "The music is not new, if 'new' is to mean either flimsy or ugly; the music is not old, if to be 'old' is to be harsh and formal, to exhibit the hard scaffolding of science, behind which no beautiful structure exists."

Gounod's music is both sensuous (in its proper meaning, as all beauty must be which appeals to the *sense* as its immediate judge) and intellectual. But, as we have said, Gounod belonged to no school. His style felt vastly the beautiful and heavenly—if we may be permitted the epithet—influences of the Gregorian Chant. It knelt at the shrine of Palestrina; it listened to the dignified counsels of Gluck's *apologia;* it loved Mozart and reverenced Beethoven; it followed somewhat the imaginative trend of Schumann's Romanticism; and disdained not to follow, if not to imitate servilely, the dramatic doctrine of Wagner. His music is fresh without *bizarreries;* it is dramatically emphatic without irreverence.

One instance may be noted which, while illustrating Gounod's idea of emphasis, quaintly reveals the frame of mind in which he composed church-music. In the Credo of his Third Messe Solennelle (de Pâques) he prepares himself (and the performers of his music alike) for his treatment of the words "et ascendit in coelum" by placing in the instrumental score—to a *fortissimo* of the complete orchestra—the exegetical prophecy: "Exsultavit sicut gigas ad currendam viam."

An amiable picture of the Christian and the Artist! Where better could we take leave of him than with the sacred words of this prophecy flowing from his reverent pen? A constant worshiper at the public services of the Church, a meek devotee at her shrines in the solemn stillnesses, a frequent communicant at her celestial banquet—surely the prophecy must have put on for his soul a strong personal meaning, when the last journey waited for his willing footsteps, and when Death was to be swallowed up of Life: *Exsultavit sicut gigas ad currendam viam.*

H. T. Henry.

MARSHAL MACMAHON.

THE SOLDIER AND THE MAN.

I.

THE evanescent character of worldly fame has been always a favorite theme of the philosopher, but it must be acknowledged that, in this busy age of ours, celebrity is particularly short-lived. On the rapidly shifting scene of modern life the most conspicuous figures come up and stand out in vivid light but for a moment; quickly they move on and are soon out of sight, while the public gaze is turned round and fixed upon others.

Yet the oblivion into which they suddenly sink is, in the case of the noblest and the best, more apparent than real, and it is commonly but of brief duration. The memory of the hero and of the saint, momentarily obscured, comes back surrounded by a halo of purer light; it is enshrined in the pages of history; it becomes an object of worship, secular or sacred—a beacon to which men instinctively turn in times of darkness and peril, and whose welcome radiance renews their failing strength and allays their fears. Meanwhile, it lingers in the minds of the multitude; it burns brightly in the hearts of a chosen few, and, when the occasion offers, it reveals itself to the world at large in forms touching and beautiful.

No more striking illustration of this can be found than in the last honors recently paid by France, and, indeed, we may say by all Europe, to a man who had long been one of the most popular as well as the most successful military commanders, and who, to the end, remained one of the purest and noblest characters of modern times.

In 1879, Marshal MacMahon voluntarily resigned the presidency of the French Republic, and withdrew into private life. The commotion following on that important event quickly subsided. Public interest gathered round new men and new political experiences, and during the fourteen years which followed, the hero of Malakoff and Magenta seemed to be almost entirely forgotten. But his death served to show how faithfully and admiringly he was still remembered by his countrymen. When the news spread abroad that the old warrior who had so often faced and almost courted death on the battlefields of Africa, Crimea, Italy and Lorraine had peacefully breathed his last in the old chateau of La Forest, a feeling of genuine and respectful sorrow pervaded the

whole nation. As by common agreement, the bitterness of party strifes was momentarily thrust aside in order that all might unite in honoring the departed hero. Paris, just then in the midst of festivities and rejoicings such as the gay capital had not witnessed for many years, suddenly arrested their course and put on a garb of mourning to join in the public funeral honors ordered by the government, and these were carried out with a solemnity and beauty such as France had not witnessed since the ashes of her great emperor had been brought back from St. Helena. The Cabinet, the Law Courts, the Legislature, the Ambassadors of all the foreign powers, officers deputed by the armies of Russia, Germany, Austria, England and other countries—all joined in the solemn cortege which accompanied the Marshal's remains from the Church of the Madeleine to the historic dome of the Invalides. The crowned heads of Europe vied with each other in the richness of their floral offerings. The city of Milan had also sent hers—still mindful, after more than thirty years, of that day of wild enthusiasm and intoxicating delight when she went forth in her thousands to welcome her liberator, the victor of Magenta. But the sincerest and saddest tribute of all, that which would have gone most directly to the heart of the old marshal, could he by anticipation have dwelt upon it, was the homage of his companions of former days, of the regiments whose pride it was to have been under his command, of the whole French army, in fact, present in its most conspicuous representatives to pay the last honors to their departed chief.

Countless multitudes witnessed the scene, yet not a single unpleasant incident occurred to disturb its dignity and solemnity, and when all was over the immense crowd dispersed noiselessly as after a religious celebration and sought their respective homes, silently dwelling on the checkered memories of the last fifty years, so vividly reawakened by the touching scenes they had just beheld.

To recall briefly MacMahon's share in the great events of that period and to point out the qualities by which he won the highest honors his country could confer upon him, in life and in death, is the object of the following pages. We trust they will prove interesting to not a few of our readers, especially to those who loved to consider the great soldier as one of their countrymen. As a fact, by name and by descent, MacMahon belonged to the Irish race, and he was proud of it. Those who, coming from the land of his forefathers, were admitted to call upon him will ever remember the distinguished courtesy and the cordial feeling with which he welcomed them. Titles and decorations had come to him from all parts of the globe, but after the *bâton de maréchal*, borne behind his coffin as the emblem of his highest dignity, there

was none he so valued as the sword of honor which the Irish people had sent him, as to one of their own, after the victory of Magenta. To the interest of a far wider circle he appeals as one of the makers of modern history, and still more as a soldier and as a man, in the highest and noblest sense of the terms. It is principally as such that we propose to present him to our readers.

II.

MacMahon was first of all and before all a soldier. He came of that war-loving people whom religious persecution had driven from their homes and who fought for more than a century the battles of the Catholic countries where they had been welcomed, having no longer a country of their own to fight for. The names of these voluntary exiles hold an honorable place in the military and political annals of Austria, Italy and Spain; but nowhere did they find so congenial a home as in France. Almost from the beginning, they were admitted to the privileges of citizens of their adopted country, the great monarch, Louis XIV., having given special orders "that the Irish Catholics who had passed into his kingdom should be considered as his own subjects and enjoy the same rights as natural born Frenchmen, without being obliged to take out letters of naturalization." But they cared not so much to be citizens as soldiers. Organized in separated regiments under the command of their own leaders, they rivalled the most heroic achievements of the French, side by side with whom they fought, and often surpassed them in reckless daring. The battle of Fontenoy (1745), so famous in story and song, was all but lost when the irresistible charge of the Irish brigade changed it into a decisive victory. For a century and a half the military annals of France are full of the heroic deeds of their Irish allies, for as allies they always fought, steadily declining to accept the extra pay allowed to other foreign troops. Under chieftains, such as St. Ruth, Dillon, Sarsfield and Mountcashel they shared in every campaign and almost in every battle of the armies of France. Constantly depleted, their ranks were steadily filled by the inflow of fresh blood from the old country, and, incredible as it may appear, the official documents of the French archives bear witness to the fact that from the year 1650 to 1800 as many as 750,000 Irishmen died in the service of their adopted country.[1]

To this race of heroes, some of whose names still survive with honor in France, especially in the army, MacMahon belonged. Back to the time of James II., the MacMahons had held command in the Irish brigade, as their fathers had before them in their na-

[1] See *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*, by J. C. O'Callaghan.

tive land, and in due time they were incorporated in the French noblesse and shared in their titles and privileges. The father of the Marshal, Marquis Charles Lawrence de MacMahon, as he was called, was lieutenant-general under the restored Bourbons, a peer of the realm and a personal friend of the king. Patrick Maurice, the youngest of eight children, was born on the 13th May, 1808. For his classical education his parents placed him in the Petit-Seminaire or clerical school of Autun, perhaps with the old régime notion that, as a younger son, he might take to the Church. Had he done so, and had the Bourbons lasted, honors would doubtless have been heaped upon him, and he would have died probably, archbishop of some great French city and member of the College of Cardinals. When we remember the simple faith of the man in later years, the spotless integrity and unselfish devotion of his life, we feel that he would not have been unfitted for the high places of the hierarchy. But his call was elsewhere. The hot blood of the MacMahons coursed in his veins, and what came of it from his mother, a daughter of Field-Marshal de Caraman, did not help to cool it; his ambition was to be a soldier.

A true call to the life of a soldier implies much more than animal courage or a love of adventure. It means active and absolute devotion to country, an abiding sense of the supremacy of duty, a readiness to sacrifice life at any time for unselfish objects; in actual warfare, it means, furthermore, hardship, privation and hourly peril; a sort of natural detachment of the soul, lifting it high above the petty aims of ordinary existence and setting it free even from what is most valued in life. Hence, notwithstanding its apparent coarseness and cruelty, the fascination which war has exercised at all times on souls of the noblest and tenderest mould, a fascination, it must be said, widely felt among the most cultivated no less than among the rudest portions of the human race. War, actual war, is for most people the most absorbing of topics. Even when they have no personal interest engaged in it, it attracts them as nothing else does; in its presence they cannot turn their eyes away; every other subject of thought becomes comparatively insipid, and the field of battle which in its reality is one of the most appalling sights the eye can rest upon, remains for those who never beheld or who contrive to forget it, the most attractive object their imagination can rest upon.

And so young MacMahon, yielding to the hereditary impulse, would be a soldier. He worked hard at his mathematics, and at the early age of seventeen he won by competition a place in the military school of St. Cyr, the West Point of the French army. Two years later he came forth with some of the highest marks and took his place, though still little more than a boy, as lieutenant in a regiment of hussars.

The times were little fitted to satisfy his ardent nature. Europe was enjoying a much needed rest after the exhausting wars of Napoleon. Peace reigned supreme, and nowhere was there to be seen a sign or symptom of its being disturbed. A pleasant prospect for the world at large, and, for a brilliant young officer of a fashionable regiment, a strong temptation, doubtless, to enjoy the social pleasures and distinctions within easy reach of one of his name and of his personal attractions. But the brave soldier dreads nothing more than the dull monotony or the frivolous pastimes of a garrison life. Study is his only means of escape, above all the study of the art of war, with its history, its tactics, its present possibilities and its prospective developments; and this is just what MacMahon found ready for him in the "Ecole d'Etat-major," to which he was promoted at the same time as he received his commission. Here it was that he laid the foundation of that deeper knowledge of strategy which he exhibited in later years. But his sanguine temperament craved for action, and again he had the good fortune to find it right at the close of his higher course, and in a field where it could be least expected.

For centuries the city of Algiers, on the opposite coast of the Mediterranean, had been a stronghold of pirates. In vain the great powers of Europe had attempted, one after the other, to put an end to their depredations. France at length was enabled to do so. A gross insult offered to her representative by the Dey—the practical sovereign of Algiers, was profoundly and effectively avenged. To the relief of civilized Europe, the city which had so long lived on plunder was bombarded and captured. A military expedition was formed to secure the results of the first victory, and out of this grew the protracted conflict which ultimately made the French masters of nearly the whole coast and territory of northern Africa.

Here was an opening for our young officer, and he was not slow to avail himself of it. Exchanging into an infantry regiment just ordered out to Algiers, he was soon on the scene of action and promptly attracted the notice of his superior officers.

In that old land known to the classical scholar by the familiar names of Numidia and Mauritania, the methods of warfare under its successive conquerors, Phœnician, Roman, Vandal, Arab and Turk, had undergone comparatively little change, and, owing to the nature of the country, the superiority of modern arms and tactics but served to drive back its present inhabitants only the more effectively to their ancient tactics. Theirs was a manner of partisan or guerilla warfare. Rarely did they venture to meet the invading forces in the open field; but, familiar with the natural resources of the country, they availed themselves of every advantage, lying in ambush or hovering around the enemy's detach-

ments and suddenly bursting on them like a thunder cloud; quick to scatter when attacked and gathering afresh with amazing rapidity; holding with obstinate courage every commanding position they could occupy; crushed again and again, seemingly beyond hope of recovery, yet promptly reorganizing themselves and ready to continue the struggle. Against such a people, brave, self reliant and fired by religious fanaticism, the slow progress of the French conquest may be easily understood. To subdue them, modern tactics were less available than initiative decision and personal courage, and these MacMahon possessed in no ordinary degree. Courage,—daring courage—was, perhaps, his most characteristic feature. He was utterly fearless in the presence of danger and seemed almost to face it with delight. The first to scale the heights of Mouzaïa in face of the enemy, shortly after his arrival he won the admiration of the whole army and received the cross of the legion of honor as an official recognition of his bravery. Ever afterwards his natural place seemed to be that of greatest peril. He was with the Zouaves in the storming of Constantine, rushing, in one of the very first, through the open breach and escaping only by a sort of miracle the fate of hundreds of his comrades. So great, indeed, was his disregard of peril, and at the same time his immunity from the casualties of war, that the Arabs looked upon him with a sort of superstitious fear, while among his companions in arms he was considered to have a "charmed existence."

With such gifts, his promotion, as might be expected, was very rapid. In a few years he was borne through the successive grades of the military hierarchy, each advancement being the reward of some brilliant feat or solid service, until, at the age of forty, he found himself brigadier-general, in command of a considerable portion of the Algerian army and laden with grave administrative responsibilities. A few years later he is major-general and summoned to command a division of infantry in front of Sebastopol.

III.

The appointment of MacMahon in the circumstances had a very special meaning. The siege of the great Russian stronghold by the united forces of France and England had dragged itself along painfully for nearly a twelvemonth, and it was felt that a great, decisive effort had to be made. Pélissier—he, too, of Irish descent and a commander of rare energy—was placed at the head of the French troops. He had watched the brilliant career of McMahon, and knew that for doing and inspiring deeds of daring he might be entirely relied upon. Hence his call at the critical hour. The attack, in which he was to have the principal share, was to be made simultaneously on three points of the outworks.

Upon these—known under the names of *the Great Redan, the Little Redan and Malakoff*—depended the fate of the city. The capture of the last and strongest of the three was intrusted to MacMahon. The evening before the attack (7th September, 1855) the commander held a council of war with the French and English generals, who were to direct the operations. It was followed by a characteristic incident which we have from one of MacMahon's own officers. Taking him aside, the commander said, "General, I suppose you fully understand that yours is the vital part of the operation—everything depends upon you."

"Never fear," replied MacMahon, quietly; "I shall get into Malakoff, and the Russians shall have my life before they drive me out."

The next day he gloriously kept his word. Fired by his presence and by his example, the troops under his command dashed like a torrent against the fort, and stormed it in an incredibly short space of time.

But the difficulty was not so much to take as to hold it. The Russians, fully alive to the fact that there was the key of the whole position, and that by losing it all was lost, made the most desperate efforts to recapture the fort. Again and again they returned to the charge with a contempt for death which MacMahon himself could not help watching with admiration. But it was in vain. MacMahon was there, pledged to hold his ground—now in the midst of his men, now on an eminence under deadly fire, yet directing the operations of the defence with the same coolness as if he were ordering drill exercises. So prominent and so perilous was his position that it was noticed from afar by the commander-in-chief, who at once despatched a messenger recommending him to expose himself less.

"All right," he replied; "tell the commander I am extremely grateful for his solicitude," and he continued to give his orders without moving. Pélissier, who watched the negative result of his kindly interference, could not repress his admiration. "Look at him!" he exclaimed. "Look at him! Is he not magnificent under fire?"

Yet he could not leave him to what he considered his inevitable fate. Another messenger was despatched, begging of MacMahon to seek shelter outside the fort, and direct the action from there. "It is no use insisting," was the answer; "here I am, and here I stay."

The simple heroism of the reply was not lost. It went like an electric shock through the ranks of the defenders; it was repeated enthusiastically next day by the whole army; it was carried, with the news of the victory, through the civilized world, and admired

as a spontaneous utterance of the noblest courage, and after well nigh forty years, *j'y suis, j'y reste* remains in the French language as a consecrated expression of immovable resolve.

One less brave than MacMahon would surely have listened to the recommendations of his chief, and obeyed them as an order. For he knew that the desperate efforts of the Russians to recapture the fort were not his greatest peril. The fort itself was undermined, and might be blown up at any time. In view of the emergency, he had kept half his division in reserve, with orders, if the explosion occurred, to advance at once and take hold of the "funnel." Happily, the connecting-wire was accidentally cut by a sapper while throwing up an earthwork shelter against the Russians. But this was known only later, and in the meantime the general had to bear the terrible strain consequent on such a position. In a letter to his brother written shortly after, he acknowledged that he felt it very keenly; "but," he adds, "nobody noticed any trace of uneasiness about me, although I did believe we should all go up like rockets."

This lasted three full hours. The Russians were returning—ever returning—to the fight. At one time the ammunition was almost exhausted. What was to be done? "Fight on," said the intrepid commander. Take their ammunition from the killed and wounded; fire only point-blank and use your bayonets. The reserves will soon be with us."

The reserves did come up at last; the Russians, exhausted and disheartened, ceased their attack, and MacMahon, true to his word, held the fort to the end. This was fortunate; for the attack of the English on the great redan had been repulsed, that of the French on the little redan had been only a half-success, but Malakoff was the vital centre of the defence, and on the following day Sebastopol was occupied by the allied forces.

IV.

The most enthusiastic welcome awaited the hero of Malakoff, as he was then commonly called, on his return from the Crimea, and the emperor, by conferring upon him the highest rank in the Legion of Honor and a seat in the senate, only acted in conformity with the popular feeling. But MacMahon was not a man to rest under his laurels and give himself up to the enjoyment of his well-earned fame. The conquest of Algeria was still incomplete; a new expedition was being prepared, and he begged to share in it. His request was granted, and soon after we find him, as usual, bearing the brunt of the battle and forcing the Kabyls, hitherto unsubdued, in their last intrenchments. The peace which followed led to a reorganization of the conquered country, and the command of all

the forces was placed in the hands of the man who had taken so effective a share in the conquest. But scarcely had he assumed the command when a new field, wider than ever, of military action suddenly opened before him. The Italian campaign had been decided on (1859), war declared against Austria, and the order was given him to cross the Mediterranean with the bulk of his forces and join the invading forces in Italy.

In the short campaign which followed, the share of MacMahon was, as in the taking of Sebastopol, brilliant and decisive. The story of the battle of Magenta, in which he won his highest honors, has been told in diverse ways, and is still a matter of controversy. But certain features of it are unquestioned. The emperor himself was commander-in-chief, a task to which he was entirely unequal. Knowing, perhaps, of warfare all that could be learned from books, he could not be expected to possess that rapid intuition of complex details; that promptness to notice the varying incidents of a battle and to act on them; that combination of perfect coolness and rapid decision necessary to keep large bodies of men in hand during an engagement and lead to victory. The very ablest of his generals might have almost lost himself just at that time of year (3d of June) in the rich plains of Lombardy, covered with vines, fruit trees and luxuriant crops. The two armies, equally ignorant of each other's exact position and strength, seem to have been feeling their way to take position rather than prepared for actual fighting. The fighting itself, carried on along a lengthened line of battle, seemed for a long time uncertain in its purpose and its results. At 4 P.M. the emperor himself was in a most critical position. Happily, the bravery of his guard allowed him to hold his ground until MacMahon, rapidly putting together his corps, rushed to the point of danger, overthrew the enemy, extricated his sovereign from peril, and changed almost certain defeat into glorious victory. So deeply impressed was the emperor with the extent of the service rendered that on the very field of battle he bestowed on his deliverer the two fold title of Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta.

Nothing was now wanting to the military glory of the illustrious soldier. His name was on the lips of all; the brilliant feats of his previous career were recalled and associated with his recent victory; and the enthusiastic welcome which greeted him in Milan a few days after the battle, and the profusion of flowers showered upon him as he rode through its streets at the head of his troops, were only the prelude of the ovation which awaited him in Paris. The triumphal march of the victorious army along the boulevards of the latter city on the 15th August, 1859, in presence of over a million spectators, was a scene never to be forgotten. At the

head of the army rode the emperor, as commander-in-chief, preceded by his body-guard and surrounded by a brilliant staff; then the endless defile of artillery, cavalry and infantry, chasseurs, turcos, zouaves, their flags riddled with bullets, and themselves showing, nothwithstanding their bright looks and elastic steps, unmistakable signs of the hardships of the war. The enthusiasm of the crowd was intense from beginning to end; but when the hero of Magenta came in sight, it knew no bounds. He was not easily recognized at first, having, with characteristic modesty, chosen to wear the campaigning undress instead of the richly-embroidered costume of his high rank. But once descried, the vociferous cheers by which his presence was hailed at each point served as a signal of his approach to those further on, so that for several hours he moved along amidst a perfect storm of flowers and plaudits, the heartfelt homage of an admiring and grateful people.

V.

If the military career of Marshal MacMahon had ended here, his name would doubtless have gone down to posterity, not only as that of a fortunate and valorous soldier, but also as that of a great captain. The misfortunes which befel his country some years later were destined to lessen his claims to the latter title, and to darken the closing period of an existence so long and so unvaryingly successful and happy.

With the circumstances which led to the Franco-German war Marshal MacMahon had absolutely nothing to do. The French emperor had never taken him into his confidence at any time, and for several years back he had been Governor-General of Algeria, whither he was sent to replace his old friend, Pélissier, whose death had been the signal of fresh disturbances in the conquered province; so that the fatal precipitancy with which the war was entered upon was as much a matter of surprise to the marshal as to everybody else. Precipitancy, indeed, was only one of the many faults which characterized the action of the French during this fatal struggle. From beginning to end everything seemed to go wrong with them. That a war with Prussia had to be looked forward to at no distant future was evident to all. The rapid extension of that power, and its growing influence over the rest of Germany under the able guidance and through the unscrupulous action of Bismarck, had considerably lessened the prestige of France and was a threat to her security. It was felt, that on the occasion of the Austro-Prussian war in 1866, Napoleon had been outwitted by the wily German diplomat, and the whole French nation longed to get even with him, perhaps, as some hoped, by

annexing, as in the days of Napoleon I., the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Germany fully expected what was coming, and steadily prepared for it. For years, a man of genius, Von Moltke, the greatest of tacticians since Napoleon, had been working out in minutest detail the various problems of defence or invasion, and, at the same time, had raised up the whole army to a degree of efficiency hitherto unparalleled. Bismarck, on the other hand, had secured the eventual co-operation of the minor German powers. All was ready on their side; on the French side nothing was ready. The army was weak in numbers and in discipline; the emperor's mind clouded and uncertain; his advisers selfish or divided in their opinions; political and dynastic questions obscured the vital interests which were at stake, and so, in spite of extremely significant warnings from within and from without, the country was launched into the most disastrous of wars.

From the first day the result could scarce be doubtful to any one who knew the real condition of things. Many of those who shared in the struggle went forth with the most dismal anticipation, or tried to gather courage from the proverbial chances and uncertainties of war, or from the unvarying success of the French arms for more than half a century, and the possibility of striking at once a strong, decisive blow which would lead to peace on honorable if not advantageous terms. This, we are told, was the hope of the emperor and his counsellors when they awoke to the disheartening realities of the situation. The original purpose of the campaign, hastily decided on, was the invasion of the German territory. But nothing was ready to carry it out, and before a single effective move could be made the German forces, long prepared for action, had assumed the offensive. A German invasion had not been as much as thought of by the French, and upon MacMahon principally devolved the duty of meeting it. Threatened simultaneously at various points, and in ignorance of the real position and strength of the enemy, he gradually extended his line of defence, thus exposing each portion of it to be attacked by superior forces. As a consequence, his lieutenants, always outnumbered, were invariably defeated in a series of engagements, and MacMahon himself, at the decisive battle of Frœshweiler, after exhibiting and inspiring his troops with the intrepid courage of former days, and sustaining an unequal fight which won the admiration of the enemy, was finally overwhelmed by the German forces, numbering over two to one at the close of the engagement.

This crushing defeat was almost too much for the soldier upon whom fortune hitherto had always smiled. We have it from an eye-witness that, as he contemplated the havoc made in those brave troops he had been wont to lead to victory, bitter tears rolled down

his manly cheeks, and that several hours passed before he could recover his composure and give any definite orders.

To retreat with the remnant of his troops was now the only course open to him. Slow retreat might have been the wisest course from the time he found himself outnumbered. But he felt that he owed it to the army and to the country not to abandon Alsace without a fight, even against unequal numbers. Now, it only remained for him to fall back and strive to rally his army, disheartened and disbanded, but sure to recover itself promptly in more favorable circumstances. He resolved, therefore, to lead back his forces under the walls of Paris, and there, while protecting the capital, hold himself in readiness to combine with the other corps d'armée and stay the march of the enemy. Those who find most fault with the marshal's previous action agree to approve of this decision. Acting on the strength of his discretionary powers as commander of a corps d'armée, he persistently refused to listen to the appeals made to him by the "friends" of the emperor and the empress, more concerned to save the dynasty than the country. It was only when he received a telegram purporting to come from the commander-in-chief, Bazaine, and claiming his co-operation, that he altered his line of march and turned toward Metz. It was not without much misgiving, which he took no pains to conceal from his companions in arms. "But," he added, "there are no two ways about it; we have only to go on and die like men."

On they went, and reached Sedan, but only to find themselves, as was feared, not in touch with the army of Bazaine, still shut up in Metz, but surrounded by the united forces of Germany. Resistance was impossible; even retreat was difficult; yet by holding out boldly for a time the bulk of the army might be saved. It was the plan resolved upon, and even begun to be carried out, when MacMahon, riding at an early hour along the lines on the fatal day (September 2d), was wounded dangerously, and had to resign his command. Ducrot, one of his bravest generals, took it up, but two hours later had to make room for Wimpffen, a court favorite, who, though ignorant of all the particulars of the situation (he had joined the army only the day before), claimed the right to command as senior officer, changed the order of battle, was soon surrounded and overwhelmed, and had to atone for his rashness by signing the most humiliating capitulation ever inflicted on a French army.

Thus ended in defeat and sorrow one of the most brilliant military careers of the century. The marshal was still destined, as we shall see, to render substantial services to his country in other ways, but, as a leader, his work was done. Ever since, its latter part—the share taken by him in the Franco-Prussian war—has been

a subject of controversy, some tracing back to his lack of breadth and of decision the series of reverses to which we have referred; others, not less competent, claiming that he did bravely all that, in the circumstances, could be done, and that the only reproach he might deserve was to have obeyed orders at a supremely critical moment, and not followed his own judgment. Only experts, having made a thorough examination of the case, could undertake to determine what amount of truth may be found on either side. One thing is certain, MacMahon's military experience had not prepared him for moving large masses of men on the lines of modern strategy. Like most commanders of the French army, he had learned the art of war where there was no room for elaborate tactics—amid the hills and fastnesses of Algeria, fighting brave but only half-civilized tribes, against which success depended chiefly on energy and daring. These gifts, highly developed among officers and soldiers, had made them lose sight of the requirements of a more scientific manner of warfare, and even caused them to disregard the humbler yet no less necessary qualities of watchfulness, foresight, and caution. Here lay the superiority (besides its numbers) of the German army, and the secret of that series of reverses, unredeemed by a single important victory, which so completely destroyed the prestige of France and made united Germany the leading military power of Europe.

VI.

The public life of MacMahon was still far from being at an end. Powerless to stay the course of the foreign invasion and save his country from defeat, it remained for him at the close of the war to take a leading share in the work of restoration. The war with Germany, our readers will remember, was succeeded by the outbreak of the commune and the occupation of Paris by the insurgents. To quell the revolt and to reorganize the army were the two pressing necessities of the hour, and for both Thiers, then president, turned at once to MacMahon, now recovered from his wounds and unharmed, notwithstanding his reverses, in his character as a soldier and as a man. At the head of what forces he could muster the Marshal soon recovered the city, his constant aim during the second siege being to spare as much as possible the effusion of blood, especially that of his soldiers who had already abundantly paid their tribute to their country in the field and in captivity. The sad but necessary duty of repression once accomplished, all his thoughts were turned to the reconstruction of the military forces of the nation. In view of this he gathered round him from among the survivors of the late war those on whose ability and unselfish devotion he could most rely; all his

time and energies were devoted to the congenial task, and it was the consolation of his declining years to watch the steady growth of the work he had thus begun up to its practical completion.[1]

While engaged in this congenial task Marshal MacMahon was suddenly called upon to assume a new and higher duty, that of guiding, as President, the destinies of the whole country and helping to shape its future. The circumstances which led to this event may be told in a few words. When the republican form of government was proclaimed in Paris after the capitulation of Sedan and acquiesced in by the country, it was understood on all sides that this was only a temporary arrangement, and that the question would be reopened at the close of the war. The representatives of the nation meeting at Versailles found themselves practically powerless to solve it. The republicans were only a minority, but the monarchists were hopelessly divided among themselves, some still clinging to the fallen dynasty of the Bonapartes, who, with all their faults, had twice within fifty years placed France at the head of Europe; others looking back to the old Bourbons, nobly repsented by the chivalrous but unpractical Comte de Chambord; while many of the wisest and ablest thought that the happiest combination of past and present would be found in the Orleanist branch, and its representative, the Comte de Paris, a man of high character, liberal principles and undoubted ability.

The actual president, Thiers, shared their conviction in a general way, but was easily led to elieve that it could not be realized, and that he himself was just then the fittest man to guide the destinies of the French nation. As a consequence, his policy became more and more that of the republican party, and his relations with the majority strained in the same proportion. To compel them to acquiese in his methods he repeatedly threatened to withdraw from the presidency if they persisted in opposing him.

[1] For the last twenty years the French army has been undergoing a transformation closely watched by the European powers and very interesting to follow, though little noticed at this side of the Atlantic. Keenly alive to the truth of the ancient saying, *fas est et ab hoste doceri*, the military authorities have been testing the Prussian methods and tactics, one after the other, adopting what proved effective and practical, and at the same time introducing improvements of their own in keeping with the special temperament of the French soldier. Officers and men are compelled to acquire and to sustain a higher grade of technical knowledge, while the system of recruitment, like that of Prussia, now virtually includes in the ranks of the active army and of the reserve the whole male population of the country. Each year since the war vast sums have been voted by the legislature without discussion and applied to the equipment of the forces, so that at the present day foreign experts tell us the French army has not only recovered all its former strength but has reached a degree of efficiency far beyond what it ever could boast of. The artillery in particular, its weak point during the Prussian war, Sir Charles Dilke (*Fortnightly Review*, November, 1891) declares to be now the finest in Europe.

Tired of being thus committed systematically to measures which they deemed unwise, they at last took him at his word and left him in a minority on what he considered a vital question. Thiers resigned. But then came the difficulty of finding a man who might be presented to the country as a worthy successor to one who stood so high as a statesman and who had rendered such invaluable services at the close of the war. Only a man could be thought of whom the nation at large would look up to and trust, a man of unquestioned integrity, who, regardless of personal preferences, would hold an even balance between contending parties and abide by what would prove ultimately the will of the nation.

The choice was soon made. A committee of the majority waited on Marshal MacMahon with the offer of the presidency. He accepted, not without much difficulty, and only on the repeated assurances of the committee that by declining he would be wanting in his duty to the country. The following day (24th May, 1874) the "Constituante," then invested with the full powers of the nation, proclaimed him President of the Republic.

VII.

His election was chiefly a tribute to the incorruptible honor and integrity of the man. High principle and devotion to his native land irrespective of governments had been his characteristic features through life. By birth and social connections he belonged to the legitimist party; his military honors had been won under King Louis Phillippe and Napoleon III. But he had never taken any share in politics, and was only concerned to serve his country. Perhaps the most significant testimony to his uprightness may be found in the fact that the emperor, while conferring the highest honors upon him, could never include him in the inner circle of his devoted friends. For, to Napoleon III., devotedness meant more than fidelity. Good-natured himself, grateful and generous to all who served him, but strangely deficient in moral principle, he expected in return a devotion unhampered by conscientious scruples, and this was more than MacMahon could give. A short time after he had been appointed senator he had occasion to show how little he consulted the emperor's predilections when a question of principle was involved. During the scare which followed on the attempt made upon the emperor's life by the Italian Carbonaro, Orsini, a bill was rapidly carried through the legislature empowering the government to banish, without trial, even French citizens whose presence would be considered a danger to the country, thus introducing into the heart of France the despotic *régime* of Russia. The bill came up before the senate, all composed of the emperor's nominees, and was unanimously agreed to,

with one solitary exception. MacMahon alone objected. "I cannot," said he, "bring myself to believe that the measure is either constitutional or necessary. If it is unconstitutional and unnecessary, I cannot vote for it." His solitary protest was much noticed at the time and considered very injudicious by those who took expediency as their guide, but it served to show the high and independent character of the man and how useless it was to rely upon him for anything that collided with his sense of duty.

His action in the presidency from 1873 to 1879 was in perfect keeping with such antecedents. In the great constitutional battle which was being fought in the chambers and through the country the chief concern of the marshal-president was that the rights of all should be respected. His sympathies were with the monarchists, but he keenly felt how chimerical was the policy of the Comte de Chambord, especially in the public letter in which he claimed the right to replace the tricolor flag—associated in the French mind with all the victories of the century—by the old *régime* flag of the Bourbons. "Why," exclaimed MacMahon, speaking of the feeling of the army, "the very rifles would go off of themselves to avenge the insult."

The above-mentioned letter sealed the fate of the pretender; yet so ignorant was he of the real condition of things in France that, later on, he actually came incognito to Versailles in the hope of inducing MacMahon to seat him on the throne. The president declined to see him. "It is better," said he to the person who came to announce the prince's arrival and claim an audience without delay; "it is better that we should not meet. It could do no good, and it might do harm. The prince has spoiled all his chances; I can do nothing for him." "You can do everything," said the messenger. "The army is at your command; the country is tired of waiting, and will gladly follow you." "I am president," replied MacMahon, "by the joint action of various parties; I cannot betray the trust of any." "When such interests are at stake," urged the envoy, "it is unworthy of a statesman to stick at technicalities." "That may be," replied the marshal, "but you see I am no statesman; I am a soldier, and a soldier knows nothing beyond or above his word once given."

This was the exact truth. A soldier he was in the noblest sense of that noble appellation; a statesman—a practical statesman—a man who not only sees what is best and how much of it may be realized, but is ready to stoop to what are often the only possible means of realizing it; to accept the co-operation and reward the services of the mean and selfish as well as those of the high-minded and true; to turn to his purposes men's faults as well as their virtues; to sacrifice principle to expediency and truth to success;—in

that sense MacMahon was surely no statesman. He hated trickery and deceit in every form, and made no mystery of it. He could not admit into his cabinet men, however popular and gifted, whose influence he deemed harmful or whose honesty he questioned. Here lay the secret of his difficulties in the presidency. Had he been ready, like his successor, to sign indiscriminately anything and everything sent to him by the legislature or submitted to him by his ministers, he might have remained in power indefinitely. But he felt it his duty to counteract, at the risk of losing his popularity, the tendencies of the hour, not by a *coup d'etat*—as was suggested by some of his advisers—but by a legal appeal to the country.

The popular verdict having proved unfavorable to his policy, he found it impossible to act with the new ministry, and resolved to resign. However, at the urgent request of his friends, he remained for a short time to moderate the downward course of things. But when, on the plea of political necessities, he was asked by the new cabinet to deprive of their command the ablest and most reliable generals, and thus, as he feared, to disorganize the whole army, he could bear the strain no longer. The army had been his home and his household through life; the men he was asked to sacrifice, his brothers in arms. "They are men of stainless record," said he; "if I touched them, I should not dare to look my own children in the face." And so, a few days later, he addressed to the two houses a dignified letter, resigning his high office.

VIII.

The remaining years of Marshal MacMahon's life were spent in the retirement of private life. He withdrew from his exalted position with less of worldly possessions than he had entered it. In the handling of public money he had always acted on principles of the strictest integrity, declining to follow customs, however common, which could not bear the light of publicity. An instance of this, little known, may be mentioned here. The coronation of William I., King of Prussia, in 1861, gathered round him special representatives of all the sovereigns of Europe, each vieing with the others in the splendor of the entertainments given on the occasion. MacMahon, then at the height of his military renown, was chosen to represent Napoleon III., and a considerable sum was allowed him for the purpose. He performed his part with great magnificence; but on his return, to the great surprise of the treasury officials, he refunded all that remained in his hands after the payment of his expenses. What came to him by strict right as President of the Republic, he invariably spent on objects judiciously selected in the public interest. The richness and elegance

of his receptions, recalling those of the empire, raised the whole social tone of the capital, developed trade, and made Paris once more the centre of refinement and the arbiter of fashion. The marshal's private fortune was not spared, while he steadily declined, on the other hand, to touch certain sums, though assigned to him by the constitution. Thus, 600,000 francs a year was allowed to cover the travelling expenses of the president and retinue. MacMahon bore the expense, but refused to draw the money—unlike in this, as in many other particulars, his successor, Grevy, who always travelled on a free ticket, but faithfully pocketed year after year the 600,000 francs.

A happy home awaited Marshal MacMahon on his withdrawing from public life. He had married, when over forty, Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the Duc de Castries. Notwithstanding the great difference of age, their union had been a love affair on both sides and retained its original character to the end. Those who enjoyed their intimacy loved to describe the unaffected tenderness of their daily intercourse and the hearty admiration of each for the other. Their affection was sustained, in the usual way, by harmonies and contrasts of character. The "Duchesse," extremely active, lively, overflowing with thought, ever planning something new, was a constant delight to the slower and less demonstrative nature of the Marshal. Wherever she would go, his joy was to accompany her; so that the great hero, in his spare hours, might often be met at a fashionable milliner's, or a toy shop, or, all on a sudden in presence of some sad case of privation or suffering. For, with all her other qualities, the Duchess of Magenta had the heart of a Sister of Charity. To the sick and poor she gave, not only her money, but her time and thought, often devoting whole forenoons to their concerns, and drawing freely on the Marshal to help them. Her friends smilingly called her "St. Elizabeth," so like was she in her habits and spirit to her great mediæval patroness, St. Elizabeth of Hungary. To her children, four in number, she imparted the same spirit, training them from their earliest years to be mindful of the poor and suffering.

Once relieved of the burden of office, MacMahon tarried little in Paris. After a visit of courtesy paid in the friendliest manner to his successor, he betook himself to the old mansion of La Foret where he was to spend his remaining years. He never cared for society outside the circle of his personal friends; indeed, he—so fearless in presence of danger, was always somewhat timid in his intercourse with strangers. The simplicity of life in the country, on the other hand, its freedom from conventionality, its healthy occupations and manly sports were especially congenial to the singleness of his unsophisticated and soldier-like nature.

Almost to the end he loved to ride a spirited horse, and he could enjoy a day's shooting with all the keenness of his early years. The people of the locality were proud to have him among them, while by his genuine concern for their interests and his affable manner, he won their affection, as in former days he had won the hearts of his soldiers. Yet Paris was not forgotten. Social duties and old friendships brought him back each year to the capital; but he never missed his morning ride nor his long walks, and as he moved through the busy streets, with mien still erect and firm step, men would look round and rejoice to behold once more the familiar features of the old Marshal. Years had made less than the usual change in him. To the last he retained the freshness of color of his race, while his clear blue eyes had lost nothing of their candor and kindliness.

The end came gently though not without suffering. The old warrior bore the last trial with his usual composure, comforted by the presence of his two soldier sons who had joined the rest of the family, and strengthened by his unwavering faith and by the rites of that Church of which he had ever been a loyal and dutiful son. Death had no terrors for him. As he playfully remarked to his confessor, he had seen it too often and too closely to be afraid of it. On the morning of October 17, 1893, he breathed his last, being in his 86th year.

Looking back on the eventful career of Marshal MacMahon, it is easy to discern the principle which inspired and guided an existence thus true to itself from beginning to end. It was simply a high, imperative sense of honor and duty. For the Marshal honor and duty were identical, at least in that sense that they never could run counter to each other. We have it from a personal friend of his, that one day reading together the memoirs of Marmont in which the writer dwells on the anguish of having to choose between honor and duty, the Marshal stopped short and remarked in his brief manner; "No such thing can happen; a man's highest honor is always to be loyal to duty." And this he was himself at every turn of life, with a simplicity and a disregard of consequences only to be found in heroic characters. Thus one of his greatest sorrows was to have to oppose the methods of Archbishop Lavigerie in Algeria; but he believed them to be mischievous and he stopped them. In the same way he never concealed from the emperor himself his estimate of the *coup d'etat* of 1851, notwithstanding the fact of its being so promptly condoned by the nation. Naturally modest, he shunned display, but he had no dread of public opinion when he knew he was right. In his attendance at public worship he preferred to mingle with the crowd; but if circumstances called upon him to take a more con-

spicuous share in the celebration, he took it without the slightest concern as to who liked or disliked it. In short, "do thy duty, come what may" was his unvarying motto, winning for him the honor of being called "the fearless and blameless knight" of the nineteenth century. In his letter of resignation of the presidency, he wrote: "I am comforted by the thought that during the lengthened period of fifty-three years given to the public service, I have never been actuated by any principle but those of honor, duty and devotion to the highest interests of the country." A proud boast for so modest a man, but the nation at large acknowledged its truth and felt how fully he deserved what was said of the great English chieftain:

> Whatever record leap to light
> He never shall be shamed.

And now, under the gilded dome of the Invalides, he sleeps amid the warriors of past generations gathered round the tomb of the great Napoleon. Whatever their fame, not one among them can boast of a purer or nobler record than his. Hence, the name of MacMahon will add fresh interest for thousands to that classic spot, and many, as they gaze thoughtfully and reverently on the monument which encloses his remains, will mentally inscribe on it those other words of Tennyson:

> Such was he: his work is done;
> But while the races of mankind endure,
> Let his great example stand,
> Colossal, seen of every land,
> And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure.

J. Hogan.

L'ANCIEN RÉGIME.

Part II.

IN a recent number of the Catholic American Quarterly Review we called attention to the, in general, too little appreciated fact, that it was the privileged orders in France which began the great Revolution of that country. We terminated that first part of our paper by promising an account of some of the local struggles which took place in the different French provinces; struggles which were at once both revolutionary and reactionary.

To this theme we at once address ourselves, beginning with the disorders which manifested themselves at Bearn. For a large number of the facts narrated by us, we are indebted to the late much lamented M. Aimé Cherest and we gladly refer our readers, for further details and a mass of valuable information, to his work entitled "La chute de l'Ancien Régime," which unhappily its gifted author did not live to complete.

For a long time the nobility of the provinces had entertained violent feelings of jealously and hostility with regard to the nobles of the Court and the Court itself—especially since March 15, 1781, when fresh army regulations had been made which the country gentlemen felt to be greatly to their disadvantage. In the Provinces also, the tie between the nobles of the sword and those of the gown, was much closer than in the vicinity of the capital; so that the "noblesse" and the "Parlements" were still more completely dominated by one common aristocratic spirit. The middle classes held aloof from political agitation, and it was not till quite the middle of 1788 that they began vigorously and widely to bestir themselves. Amongst the lower classes the nobility and clergy were still able, especially in the towns, to exercise a considerable influence—an influence of which, as we shall see, they did not scruple to make use. The more remote and more recently annexed Provinces, retained, as a rule, the strongest spirit of independence and of union amongst themselves, till the incredible folly of the privileged classes finally destroyed it.

Thus the most remote Province of Bearn, constituted part—the greater part—of that kingdom which still formed an integral portion of the Sovereign's Titles; for Louis XVI., like his predecessors since Henry IV., was "King of France *and of Navarre*."

Thus Bearn, in 1788, better off than the rest of what is now France, had a true constitution of its own—a constitution written

in unequivocal terms and which had been sworn to by each successive king. Amongst other things the Syndic of Bearn had a right to a seat in the Parlement next to that of the king's representative, and a right to be informed of every regulation which concerned the interest of the province.

Having been informed of the decree establishing new "Provincial Assemblies" and superseding Parlements (as related in the previous article), by a "Plenary Court," the Parlement of Navarre assembled, and emitted a preliminary protest against all acts which might change the ancient, local political system and then quietly awaited the action of the central power.

On the 8th of May they met in response to a summons for a "Bed of Justice," when loyal letters were read, the Marquis of Lons and the Sieur de Bon Chepoen (the Intendant) representing the king. The meeting was prolonged for sixteen hours by the opposition of every legal and technical objection and formality possible. Ultimately, however, the king's recent decrees were duly registered, but then the members of the court refused to retire and only did so, "to preserve the Sanctuary of Justice from profanation," after the marquis had introduced an officer with the declaration that force would be immediately made use of to expel them. Then the Court of Justice was closed.

Nevertheless, even in the city of Pau, the mass of the population remained quiet, and there as at Paris, were mere passive spectators of the conflict. But the rural population (almost all who were small proprietors) were excited by the nobility, who circulated widely the report, that they were to be taxed without the consent of their own legislature. The next step was the assembly at Pau, of a crowd of nobles from every part of the province, followed, on June 15th, by the entrance of bands of mountaineers who seizing upon the guns placed them on ramparts and then breaking open the Court of Justice demanded the re-establishment there of the Parlement, which thereupon resumed its former place and action—the Syndic of Bearn coming in state and depositing on the table a "decree of the nobility of Bearne." This "decree" which a mere handful of citizens had no moral or real right to pass, declared "infamous" whoever should obey the newly registered laws.

The next day, the Parlement of Navarre formulated a remonstrance to the king, saying: "We, Sire, citizens and magistrates of a country distinct from France, although subject to the same king, desire to call your Majesty's attention to the separate rights of the two nations which the haste of your administrators has confounded. The project of establishing a uniform system of government for all the provinces, is irreconciliable with their varied several interests; but even were it otherwise, such a sys-

tem could not apply to Bearn and Navarre which have never become provinces of France. Grant to us, Sire, the revocation of the edict establishing a "Plenary Court."

They also formally declared that the king's edicts annihilated the constitution of Navarre and Bearn.

This movement was but an example of the general tendency which the privileged classes displayed to split up and divide that national unity which had so far been laboriously, though as yet imperfectly, brought about by the efforts of successive sovereigns. The various provinces had been united at different periods, under different conditions and with diverse stipulations. Whenever the royal power was in the hands of a strong man, there was uniform obedience; but the separatist spirit manifested itself at other times, and rarely had there been so weak a king as was Louis XVI. The lower classes also still had strong local feelings; nevertheless, in 1788, the middle classes were already governed by a vigorous national spirit and a growing repugnance to the aristocracy, for which, indeed, they had but too good reason.

The commons remained passive, and that very passivity concealed from the nobility the danger of the course they were taking. It also helped to disarm the king's emissaries, who, instead of carrying out his commands, permitted the revolt of nobles with whom, at the bottom of their hearts, they sympathized, and many of whom were their personal friends. Thus it was that the Marquis de Lons made no use of his soldiers, and allowed the aristocratic rebellion to pursue its way unchecked.

Meantime, the local revolt even paralyzed the central power. The king passed his days hunting, and abandoned the government to his ministers entirely on condition that they did not call upon him for efforts out of harmony with his character. As soon as he found that the expression of his will did not suffice, he at once recoiled from pressing it. Accordingly, the Duc de Guiche, of the house of Grammont, a member of the local aristocracy itself, was despatched to Pau on an entirely pacific mission. He arrived there on the 13th of July, 1788, and was met by an immense crowd, who preserved a sullen silence, not even uttering one cry of "Vive le Roi." Thereupon he explained to them the nature of his mission, declaring he had told the king that he, as a man of Bearn and a zealous defender of his country's constitution, would undertake no mission which was to be followed by any acts of rigor or the employment of force. Rather than that, he would beg his majesty to relieve him of the mission and allow him to go to Pau on his own account to defend their local privileges. Thereupon all hearts were moved in French fashion; men ran to the castle for the cradle of Henry IV., which was surrounded with garlands and

borne by four peasants to the duc's lodgings, where he was duly harangued and feted.

The next day he made known the terms of his mission to the Parlement. It amounted to a royal surrender of all the points demanded on the solitary condition of a certain formal pretence of submission. This sole condition was that some persons should be sent to Versailles to ask the king's pardon, and that the Parlement should cease to act till the royal permission was given in response to a demand for it from the provincial estates.

Even this the magistrates refused, and the duc, after trying by the most conciliating and flattering words to gain his object, had to return absolutely unsuccessful. There was nothing left but for the ministry to send "lettres de cachet" to command[1] the Parlement to come to Versailles. Their long journey across France was taken only to find, on their arrival at the court, that the ministry of Brienne had been replaced by that of Necker, and that all the local parlements were once more restored to the plenitude of their powers. Thus the aristocracy and peasantry of Bearn had, together, gained a complete victory over the king's government.

Yet more interesting are the two successive revolts which took place in Brittany. That province was almost fanatically attached to its ancient institutions, and all classes were exceptionally united. Yet it was there that the Jacobin club had its origin, and that violent revolutionary passions became most developed To bring this about, however, it needed extreme imprudence on the part of the nobility, and of such imprudence there was no lack.

The government, aware of the character of the province, thought it well to provide a considerable number of troops. They were, however, worse than useless, owing to the character of the military commander of the province, the Comte de Thiard. Even more than the Marquis de Lons in Bearn, Thiard detested the work he had to do, and desired to get through it as quickly as possible. As a noble himself, and a man of the world, he was full of sympathy for the errors and even the violence of the men of his own class. Second in command was Bertrand de Molle-

[1] No mistake could well be greater than the mistake of supposing that "lettres de cachet" were mainly employed for tyrannical or blameworthy purposes. The multitude of them found at the base of one of the towers of the Bastille made it certain that the overwhelming majority of them were used (1) either at the request of relations for the repression of moral delinquencies, or (2) to save persons guilty of small faults from the terrible punishments then common, and to preserve honorable families from disgrace. It was not noble families who alone desired to avoid a stigma of that kind. There are a multitude of such letters, which were granted for no other reason to small shop-keepers, artisans, farmers, peasants—in fact, to persons of all conditions. In many cases there is ample evidence that such letters served to reform the lives of persons who had gone wrong, and to make others into useful members of society who otherwise would have been merely criminals.

ville, who also disliked his position, though he did not sympathize with the extravagances of the Breton aristocracy, with whom he had had a passage of arms at a previous meeting of the estates of Brittany.

On the 5th of May the Parlement of that province met (as we have seen that of Bearn also did) to protest beforehand against any invasion of their ancient customs. Then Renè Jean, Comte de Botherel, Syndic, came, attended by an escort of nobles. They were eagerly received by the Parlement, where the Syndic first proceeded to invoke the treaties in virtue of which Francis I. became Duke of Brittany, and then declared that, as the estates were not in session, the Parlement rightly and duly acted for them in rejecting innovations. That evening the nobility went to M. de Thiard, headed by their dean, M. de Champasvoy, and declared that they handed him the protest which the Syndic of the estates of Brittany had produced in the Parlement, expressing the desire of the nobility and doubting not that the king would thereupon withdraw orders which no faithful servant of his majesty would execute. Thereupon the movement spread; such of the third estate as were in touch with the nobles joined in the protest, and also dignified ecclesiastics, such as the canons of the Chapter of Rennes. So encouraged, the Parlement declared itself permanently assembled. The nobility met and deliberated, and they passed decrees declaring any one "infamous" who should accept a post under the new royal ordinances. Anarchy spread amongst the people, and Rennes, the capital of the province, was in a state of incipient insurrection. The times had indeed changed under Louis XVI. In 1771, in the latter days of his predecessor, the Duc de Fitz-James had carried out similar orders with the greatest facility, only employing three brigades of police.

In 1788, royalty had lost both power and prestige. Still, much might have been done by a man of vigor. M. de Thiard called out his troops, indeed, but strictly forbade them to make any use of their weapons and ordered them to show the people with their ramrods that their muskets were not loaded. Thereupon, not a few of the soldiers were assaulted and the muskets of many were snatched away and broken.

On the 10th of May, the royal commissaries (Thiard and Molleville) proceeded to the Parlement. They were hissed and hooted, and with difficulty escaped actual violence from the mob. Within the chamber every vexatious formality and every possible obstacle was placed in their way, yet they dexterously managed to have the edicts registered by royal command, and then left. On descending the steps of the Parlement House they found the regiment of Rohan waiting to reconduct them to their abode, and

so they could have returned there securely. But de Thiard's military pride would not allow this, though de Molleville desired it.

They disputed together for a quarter of an hour, during which a dense crowd collected. Finally, the escort of a regiment was declined, and the commissaries set out simply attended by an official guard of twenty men.

As they proceeded cries and insults were succeeded by a violent assault on the escort, and the commissaries themselves were struck by sticks and stones thrown at them; nor would they have escaped serious mischief had not the guard which protected their dwelling advanced to their assistance. Once safe at home, they had to remain prisoners; for the mob, after almost forcing their doors and only desisting from violence at the entreaty of two of their own magistrates, remained continually on the watch. Meantime, the nobles kept up their illegal assembly, representing themselves as the superiors of the king's ministry and the royal emissaries.

At this period there were two clubs at Rennes, one frequented by the nobility, the other by some higher members of the third estate and a few nobles. One day a student came to the former and proposed that the young nobles should join the students in attacking the regiment of Rohan. The proposition was rejected, but the illegal band of nobles led to an illegal band of students throughout France, brought about by the efforts of a young man whose name was Moreau—the future conqueror at Hohenlinden!

Encouraged by the inactivity of the king's agents, the disorder soon increased. Soldiers were assaulted and caricatures of "beds of justice" were paraded before the dwelling of Thiard and Molleville.

The magistrates also decided no longer to carry on even a semblance of obedience to the king, and, since the Parlement House was occupied by soldiery, to meet at the Hotel Cuille, the house of one of their presidents. On learning this, Thiard sent M. D'Hervilly (an officer of the Rohan regiment) with fresh orders from the king that they should dissolve at once. On being refused admission, he laid siege to the Hotel Cuille, whereupon the populace ran to defend their magistrates, encouraged to do so and to insult the soldiery by some of the nobles who accompanied them with drawn swords. Just then M. de Caraduc, procurator-general, in his legal robes, came to attend the Parlements when he called the soldiers "vile satellites of despotism." He little thought how soon he would welcome such "satellites" to save his class from the horrors of Jacobinism!

M. d'Hervilly held his ground with calm and exemplary firmness. M. Thiard sent a detachment of dragoons, not to his aid, but merely to display themselves on a piece of high ground.

Such futility, of course, made his efforts vain. The Parlement now took the offensive and sent a deputation to demand (and, as it proved, to at once obtain) the withdrawal of the troops. A decree was published by the magistrates declaring that the edicts which had been registered were void and of no effect and forbidding any person to act upon them. During the night a *lettre de cachet* was delivered to each magistrate, commanding him to go into exile, and this order none dared disobey, but the punishment proved utterly vain.

In the tumults and disorders which had taken place the respectable citizens who were not noble took hardly any part. They were due to the mob instigated by the nobility. So far had the latter receded from that position of profound respect for the king, which was formerly universal amongst them in France since the manhood of Louis XIV., that they could not forgive M. d'Hervilly for having acted against his class. They could not, of course, openly quarrel with him for having, as an officer, remained faithful to discipline and his orders, and so they picked a quarrel with him on pretence that he had raised his cane against a young Breton noble, M. La Roudirie. A number of them left cards on him as a challenge. In vain he protested that he had not raised his cane against any one; the insults became so intolerable that he felt he must fight. He began to do so with La Roudirie. Three times he had him at his mercy and spared him, but challenge succeeded challenge to other officers who had to fight a succession of duels wherein one was killed and several wounded, and finally a duel was arranged wherein seven of the king's officers were to fight with seven Breton nobles. But this, at last, the Comte de Thiard stopped. Nevertheless, the conduct of the nobility proclaimed that, in their eyes, the first duty of an officer (then necessarily a noble) was to his class not to his colors. Small cause had they then to blame common soldiers later on, when they in turn acted against discipline and sided with their class in later stages of the revolution.

At last the central government lost patience, and when successive deputations of the nobility were sent to Versailles (though they gained the support of courtiers), some of them were confined in the Bastille. The king, however, promised that their provincial estates should be convoked, and replaced M. Thiard by a much more resolute man, the Marshal de Stainville. The latter had not been three days at Rennes before tranquillity was restored. The mob knew that this time the muskets were loaded, and that the troops had orders to fire on the first crowd that should anywhere assemble—an instructive example that the first thing necessary in dealing with a mob is to show that it is not feared, and the second,

to make it evident that he who commands in the name of authority is firm and determined. So ended the open insurrection of the Breton nobles; but their hidden opposition continued, and their syndic, the Comte de Botherel, with others, went from town to town in the province seeking adhesions and planning another movement.

Now, at this time there was a municipal officer of Quimper who was hostile to the action of the nobility, declaring that it was a mistake on the part of the populace to ally themselves with the privileged classes against the king, and affirming that in a representative body the commons ought to be as numerous as the nobles and clergy united. Thus, when the Comte de Botherel and his companions arrived there (Quimper), they were met by a crowd of hostile citizens, who hooted them. They experienced a similar reception in other places in the vicinity, so that it was evident that in that corner of Brittany the nobles were not taken for liberators, but for what in fact they were—selfish disturbers of the peace.

Meantime, Brienne had been succeeded by Necker, to whom a fresh deputation was sent, with the result that the prisoners in the Bastille were liberated, the Parlement of Rennes restored and the estates of the province summoned in their ancient form. One of the thus liberated Bretons, the Marquis de Kersalaun, hastened back to his home at Quimper, expecting to be received with enthusiasm, when, to his disgust, he was received with cries of "*Vive le Roi*," instead of "*Vive le Parlement.*"

The solemn reopening of the judicature took place at Rennes, on the 8th of October, 1788, and the provincial estates were convoked for December 29th.

Since 1541 these estates had, without any royal assent, imposed a tax exclusively on the commons, called "extraordinary forage," the proceeds of which defrayed the general expenses of the province. This abominable injustice having been brought to the king's notice, he had charged his commissaries to demand its repeal in favor of a tax which should be paid by all three orders (clergy, nobles and commons) equally. The people, delighted at finding their interests thus supported, backed up the commissaries, while the nobles, in a fury, protested against any such suggestion.

This was before the insurrection just related, and the effervescence had been so great that the commissioners then deferred any decision till the next session of the states, which was now about to take place. On October 20th, the Municipality of Rennes had forbidden its deputies at the estates to deliberate about any other question till this one was settled, and a demand was widely made by municipalities (especially at Nantes) that the number of the commons should equal those of the clergy and nobility united.

Nowhere was this demand more justly made than in Brittany, in the estates of which the commons were hardly represented at all, and least of all the peasantry.

Such being the state of affairs, the nobles had the extreme impudence to assemble two days before the opening of the estates, and pass a resolution to the effect that they would not give precedence to any complaint of the commons.

At the opening of the estates, the nobles, who had each a right to vote, assembled to the number of 1200, accompanied by a crowd of enthusiastic youths of their class. The commons did not number more than 42. The galleries were crowded with spectators, but there was little to see, since the members of the third estate persisted, in spite of every effort of the other orders and of the royal commissaries, in their attitude of absolute passivity.

Thereupon M. de Thiard (who had resumed his functions) applied to the government for instructions, with the effect that Necker sent a decree proroguing the estates till the 3d of February. The tone of the decree was so sympathetic with the commons that it was received with loud cries of "*Vive le Roi*," and the citizens illuminated.

Then the privileged classes showed plainly their intention to disobey the king and remain in session, vainly using both entreatties and threats to induce the third estate to remain also. They resolved to prolong their sitting, day and night, till the 3d of February. The commons having despatched a deputation to Necker, he sent a decree permitting the number of the commons in the provincial estates to be doubled, with the consent of the two higher orders. This was a vain concession, indeed, seeing that, even should the clergy and nobility consent, the 1200 of the latter could always enormously outvote the commons.

But the privileged orders would not consent that the ancient constitution of the estates should be changed in any manner, however small. Accordingly, the lowest classes of the population were invited to meet outside the city to devise measures for protecting the people against attempts on the part of the citizens. Two thousand people responded on the 26th of January, 1789. They consisted for the most part of domestic servants and others depending directly on the patronage of the nobility.

A footman addressed the assembly, saying that the richer commoners would deprive them of their wages, and that they desired to support the nobility and beg the Parlement to decree that bread should be cheap. Then the mob followed their leader to the Parlement, which (though no precedent sanctioned such a proceeding) received them, gravely listened, and promised to grant their request. Thus, in the conduct of this ancient body we have a

precedent for similar acts on the part of the future Convention of Paris. So, encouraged and inflamed with drink, they noisily traversed the streets, thus showing their preference for the aristocracy, by which they lived, over the middle classes of Rennes. It was all their instigators desired, but not all that they performed. Some of them were armed with sticks, and various conflicts took place. At last they happened to pass a café wherein a number of students were assembled, who opposed their entrance. Just then a wagon laden with wood happened to be passing; the rioters at once armed themselves and violently assaulted the students and seriously injured several of them.

As soon as the news reached the clergy and nobility, they ran to stop the riot, and ultimately an apparent calm was produced.

But the rest of the students, and the youth of the middle class generally, agreed to resent the outrage, which they attributed to those who had instigated the extra-mural meeting of the 26th. The citizens also began to be tired of seeing the privileged orders continuing their session in spite of the king's orders. Thus it was that the students determined to stop the nobility from going to their hall, and assailed those they encountered, who then drew their swords. But their assailants carried fire-arms, and two of the nobles fell. The clergy and nobility were next besieged in their meeting-places, which the excited students threatened to set fire to; but ultimately, by the intervention of the Comte de Thiard, the clergy and the nobles were able to retire. The excitement, however, spread far and wide, and numerous meetings of the Commons were held in support of the citizens of Rennes. At Angers there was even held a meeting of women protesting their entire sympathy with the efforts made by their husbands, sweethearts, sons and brothers.

The 3d of February approached, and the nobles began to meet in the hall of the estates, when a fresh decree of the king announced their definitive closure and strictly forbade every sort of irregular assembly. M. de Thiard was also furnished with positive orders to act; whereupon he caused cannons to be placed opposite the hall of the estates, and ordered the assembled nobles to disperse, which, seeing that he was now in earnest, they did, and so the provincial dispute ended, save, that so late as April 6, 1789, they obtained from the soon-to-disappear Parlement of Paris, a decree that a publication hostile to them should be burned by the hands of the State executioner.

Thus it was, that by the impudence and obstinacy of its privileged orders, revolutionary ideas were rapidly developed in what had been the most calm and patient of French provinces, the most attached to the king and the most faithful to the teaching of the

Church. The resistance of the privileged orders of Brittany to all liberal modifications continued down to the last. Both clergy and nobility refused to attend the king's summons to elect deputies to the States General in April, whereby thirty-one votes were lost which might have supported the cause of order and moderation, just as a similar abstention of the two higher orders in the Province of Artois led to the election of Charles de Lameth and Robespierre.

Dauphiny had preserved its provincial estates until 1628, when they were suppressed by Cardinal Richelieu. In 1787 the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Philippe Égalité) bore the title of governor of that province, and on the 17th of July he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Toulouse in support of their restoration, but suggesting the possibility of useful modifications in their constitutions as already effected in Hainault, as stated in our former article. The claim was disallowed, and the Prime Minister, Brienne, attempted to enforce the action of the newly-decreed Provincial Assembly. This, however, the Parlement of Grenoble persistently resisted, and the nobility prepared to support the Parlement, the Commons at first remaining passive. On the 20th of May, 1787, the hall of the Parlement being occupied by soldiers, the magistrates met at the house of their president, M. de Bérulle, and passed a resolution condemning the ministerial edicts, their authors and all those who should attempt to act upon them. Brienne then at once sent letters "*de Cachet*," exiling the magistrates, who at once prepared to depart on the morning of June 7th. But an insurrection broke out, the tocsin was sounded, the luggage of the exiles dragged from their carriages and the crowd rushed towards the house of the commandant of the province, the Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre. On their way they met troops whose commander forbade them to fire on the citizens, with whom the soldiers soon fraternized. Only one officer sternly did his duty. It was Bernadotte, the future King of Sweden. The Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre had certainly not done his, but had allowed the revolt to proceed without showing himself or issuing a single order. He gained nothing by his culpable weakness. Although defended by a guard of three hundred men, the peasants who flocked in from all sides on hearing the tocsin, effected a breach, and soon had the duc at their mercy. He was forced to declare the *lettres de Cachet* null and void, to open the Hall of Justice and to write (an axe being held over his head) to M. de Bérulle to confide to him and his brother magistrates the task of restoring order. After remaining some time at Grenoble to ensure the restoration of order, the members of the Parlement each, quietly and obediently, went their way towards their place of exile.

A few days later a permanent committee of the nobility, who remained at the head of affairs, invited the dignified clergy, the municipality, and the most distinguished citizens, to a consultation, with a view to themselves solemnly convoking the three orders of the estates of Dauphiny, in order that present difficulties might be put an end to in the name of their common country. The meeting assembled in the Hotel de Ville on June 14th, and refused to dissolve, when summoned so to do, by a royal officer. Strange as it may seem, it was the commons alone who refused to co-operate. The fact was they knew that they were, at this juncture, indispensable to the higher orders. They did not, however, presume to make conditions; they waited. It was the nobility who broke the ice. One of them, in speaking at a preliminary meeting of the estates to be assembled, added: "it being well understood that the third estate has a double number of representatives and that votes shall be taken by counting heads." Then all difficulties vanished and it was resolved to convoke the estates of Dauphiny, at Grenoble, for the 21st of July.

But the Prime Minister forbade any such assembly and sent the Marechal de Vaux to replace the feeble Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre. The Marechal, however, found himself completely boycotted and he wrote to the Government that nothing but cannon would stop the convocation of the meeting which he advised should be tolerated with some modification. So said, so done. The meeting took place, as enjoined, at Vizille instead of at Grenoble.

The assembly met at eight o'clock in the castle which had been the ancient residence of their dauphins, whose title was assumed by the king's eldest son when Dauphiny was annexed to France. There were 50 dignified clergy, 165 nobles and 400 commons amongst whom were many parish priests. Then a series of liberal but moderate resolutions were passed regulating the definite organization of the estates wherein the commons were the equal in numbers to the members of the two higher orders, and votes were to be taken by counting heads. But most noteworthy of all their determinations was a resolution they passed never to separate their own cause from that of the other provinces of the whole French nation. Dauphiny thus presented a happy contrast to the rest of France in the union between its orders. At the conclusion of the meeting, one of the commons complimented the members of the two higher orders on the loyalty with which, putting aside ancient prejudices, they had sought to act justly and maintain the union of all classes. Then the meeting was adjourned to the first of September.

Brienne thought to avoid such an illicit meeting by himself convoking at Romans, for the 30th of August, an official meeting of

180 members charged to submit a plan for the re-constitution of the Provincial estates. A year before, such a measure would have been welcome indeed; now they had been spontaneously organized and it was too late. In the midst of the crisis Brienne fell and was succeeded by Necker. The estates afterwards proceeded harmoniously till they came to elect deputies for the States General. Then the Parliament of Grenoble, the Archbishop of Embrun, and a certain number of the nobility formed themselves into an aristocratic opposition whereupon they experienced themselves the effects of revolutionary disorder they had at first effectually promoted.

Up to the middle of 1788, the Province of Franche-Comté had taken no part in the disputes which the decrees instituting the provincial assemblies had occasioned. On the 14th of June, however, after those decrees had been forcibly registered by the Parlement of Besançon, a hundred of the nobility met and formulated a letter to the king in favor of the convocation of the estates of the Province. Their petition was rejected with the reply that the provincial assembly ordered by the king was the same thing. The nobles, however, knowing that in the provincial assembly votes would be taken by counting heads, made effort after effort till the fall of Brienne. Then under Necker, they met fully on the 10th of September and imprudently swore never to adopt any form of assembly save their ancient "estates"—the abuses of which were monstrous. They were energetically supported by the dignified members of the clergy. Thereupon the municipalities of the Province began to make use of the same arms against the privileged classes which they had seen those classes themselves use against the king's government. They were encouraged in this by a few of the liberal nobles and by the lower clergy.

Nevertheless the course pursued by the majority of the privileged classes, and especially by the Parlement of Besançon, was very instructive and extremely different from that followed, as we have seen, by those of Dauphiny.

With Necker's tolerance, the estates met on November 27th, in the same form as that which they had possessed in 1666. Thereupon a split took place. The first and second orders insisted on retaining the old customs—three chambers, each with an independent vote. The third order desired to follow the course which had been adopted in Dauphiny.

Meantime appeared the famous decree of the government ordaining that for the States General of the Kingdom, the members of the third estate were to be twice the numbers of those of either of the other orders. Against this, the majority of the estates of Franche-Comté, protested violently, while a minority of 20 nobles

and 7 clergy declared their acceptance of the royal order and invited the signatures of all those who might agree with them, to their declaration. This act, the Parlement of Besançon gravely censured. Also, on the 27th of January, they decreed that all the ancient customs, all the demands and exactions of the privileged orders, all their exemptions from taxation and their oppressive feudal claims, were immutable and incapable of diminution or alteration, by either king or States General. There was but one authority they declared which had such a power. Strange to say this was the whole population consulted, according to universal suffrage, for the express purpose of constituting a national organization.

Little did they dream that three days before such an appeal had been determined on by the government itself! What wonder that soon the emissaries of the government had to protect the Parlement upon the outburst of popular passions which they had themselves excited; for they had endeavored to set class against class in the long and celebrated decree, the essence of which has been here given.

The Province of Languedoc had inherited from preceding ages a very exceptional organization. Its estates, though consisting, as usual, of three orders, formed, nevertheless, but one chamber, wherein votes had always been taken by counting heads, while the third order constituted one-half of the whole assembly.

Its organization had been much admired by the venerable Archbishop of Cambray, Fenelon, and it had served as a model for those provincial assemblies which the government had recently decreed. Nevertheless, the "estates" were really much less democratic (of course, the term "democratic" is used in the European sense, and not in that of the politics of the United States) than the above statement would imply. For the third estate was represented by municipal officers who had either purchased or had inherited the posts they occupied. But the representatives of the second order (the nobility) were exclusively the owners of certain baronies, who had an hereditary right to their seats somewhat after the manner of the English peers. Therefore it was that in 1788, under the influence of the aristocratic reaction of the seven preceding years, the nobles began to protest against the existing system, claiming their separate chamber wherein they should be all represented with a vote according to "orders," as in the other provincial estates. Here we have a striking example of how little case the privileged orders made of "antiquity" and "tradition," and how willing they were for radical changes when their own interests were concerned, obstinate as they were in resisting change under opposite conditions. Meetings were held, applica-

tions were made to the king, and a violent agitation spread over the country, with the result that the commons began to stir in their own interest—following in the path traced out for them by the insubordination of the privileged orders. The confusion at last became so great that Necker dissolved the estates of Languedoc till such time as their definitive constitution should be determined by the soon-to-assemble States General of France.

A brief notice of the struggle which took place in Provence (also most instructive) must here suffice to show the spirit of the two higher orders at this most critical period.

Provence was administered in a singularly exceptional manner. Before the time of the autocratic Richelieu, it also enjoyed its provincial estates, composed of the usual three orders; and these, as in Languedoc, formed together but a single chamber, and votes were taken by counting heads. Nevertheless, they differed extremely from the estates of Languedoc, in that the third estate, instead of forming the majority of the chamber, formed such an insignificant minority that they were constantly outvoted and quite powerless. The suppression of the estates of Provence caused, therefore, no regret to the commons, who, moreover, possessed another institution which gave them a great advantage. In 1787 there were two administrative bodies in the province. One of these was called the "General Assembly of Communities," and it met every year, for some days, in the little town of Lambesc. It was mainly a legislative body presided over by the Archbishop of Aix, having 6 official members, but no less than 36 deputies chosen by municipalities which had for the most part preserved their ancient constitution, and were freely elected by the whole of their fellow-citizens. Therefore, here the commons had it all their own way.

The second administrative body was "the Commission of Procurators," which sat permanently in the City of Aix. It also had the archbishop as its president. There were two consuls—both always nobles. The first was selected from amongst the largest feudatories of the province; the second was always a nobleman of the city. There were also three "Procurators," one for each of the three orders. Thus, out of six votes, the Commons had here but one.

The inhabitants of Provence, generally, were much attached to their "Assembly General of Communities," which kept the taxes low and distributed them equitably.

Thus, when the new provincial Assemblies were instituted, it was generally expected that the state of things in Provence would not be interfered with.

This, however, did not suit those who possessed social and

political privileges, and they took the opportunity to protest against the existing system, which was opposed to their pretensions.

Seeing the preponderance which the third estate was then enjoying, it might have been anticipated that the nobility and clergy would have contented themselves with petitioning that the new regulation of the government might be applied to Provence. That would have given them as many votes as the commons had—all sitting in one chamber. But they were contented with nothing of the kind. Accustomed since the reaction of 1781 began, to exceptional favors, they sought the re-establishment of the ancient States General, which Cardinal Richelieu had suppressed, wherein they would have enjoyed an overwhelming majority of votes.

Their prayer was quickly granted, although a similar request had just been refused to Dauphiny.

The estates held their first sitting on the 31st of December, 1787. The clergy were represented by the bishops, vicars-general, deans, chapters, and abbots of the provinces; and the nobility by 128 members. The third estate had only 56 representatives, whereof 35 were consuls of cities, and many of them nobles.

Accustomed as the Provençals had been to the equitable partition of burdens by the "General Assembly of Communities," it was specially desirable that the newly revived estates should accord a double representation to the commons, and also decree an equality of taxation for all three orders. The first measure, indeed, they felt compelled to concede, and conceded. Not so, the second. The most that that the nobility would consent to, was to bear a share in the repair of roads and to pay 4000 francs towards the support of bastard children. The clergy were still less generous, and would only agree to do half what the nobles offered. In vain, Archbishop Boisgelin, the president—a noted liberal—tried to bring about a greater spirit of conciliation. The Assembly dispersed on the 1st of February, 1788, when the Commons made their complaint to the king. The people of the country vigorously demanded the reopening of the "General Assembly of Communities," which, after a first refusal, many contentions, and much violent opposition on the part of the nobility, was at last permitted, and actually took place on the 4th of May, 1788.

The foregoing must suffice (for want of space) to give our readers a notion of some of the disputes in the French provinces before the election of the States General; but a few words may here be added to depict the sentiments of the privileged classes during that election. In the first place, from one end of the kingdom to the other, they sought to maintain the theory that it was beyond the power of either king or States General to deprive them of their

privileges, especially those exemptions from taxation which they might themselves agree to surrender on condition that their feudal claims were thenceforth secured to them in perpetuity. This was clearly shown at Coudom, Dax, Evreux, and a multitude of localities. Thus, at Berg, the nobility assembled and formally declared as follows: "If ever, against all expectation, the commons, led astray by pernicious instigations, should make demands prejudicial to the first and second orders, in spite of their willingness to pay equal taxes, then, in such case, their deputies shall retire from the States General, and their pecuniary exemptions shall again be insisted on."

Demands were also made that even if taxes were to be extended to all orders, nevertheless, poor nobles and such as farmed their own lands, should be exempt.

Unhappily for France, and most unhappily for himself, Louis XVI. (perhaps mainly owing to the influence of those immediately about him) was strongly sympathetic with his nobles, and regarded their most oppressive claims as property with which he had no right to interfere. The privileged classes had taught the commons to rise against the old autocratic system of government. It was natural, that when the people found that no changes were contemplated in those rules and customs which bore most hardly upon them, they should be ready, in their turn, to rise against the privileged orders; and, when they saw the king make their cause his, against the king himself. We will terminate our article with a brief notice of the obstinacy with which the nobility clung to their privileges at and after the opening of the States General, and of the fatal support given to them by the monarch. It need only be most brief, because these facts are known to every student of modern history.

On the 4th of May, 1789, the twelve hundred newly-elected deputies went in procession at Versailles to High Mass the day before the opening of the States General.

They were to set out from the church of Notre Dame, and go to that of St. Louis. At the very beginning, the aristocratic spirit of the government showed itself in assigning different places for the three orders to assemble in. The clergy were to meet in a house adjacent to Notre Dame. The right aisle of the church was for the nobility, and the left for the commons. The deputies were convoked for seven in the morning, but the king, attended by the princes and his courtiers, did not leave the palace till ten o'clock. Nevertheless, he was received with acclamations, the *Veni Creator* was intoned, and a little after eleven the procession started.

It was led by Franciscan friars (Recollects) who were the only religious body at Versailles. Then came the clergy of the two par-

ishes of the town. They were followed by the deputies of the third order in black woollen cloaks and plain three-cornered hats. Next were the nobles, wearing mantles embroidered with gold and hats bordered with white feathers. To them succeeded the lower clergy, then the royal band, which separated them from the dignified ecclesiastics who directly preceded the Blessed Sacrament carried by the Archbishop of Paris under a canopy supported by gentlemen in waiting, its cords being held by Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois (the king's brothers), and by the two sons of the Comte —the Duc d'Angouleme and the Duc de Berri.

The king walked directly behind the archbishop. The princes of the blood, the dukes and peers then followed each other on the right, while the queen, Madame Elizabeth, the Duchess d'Orleans, and the Princess de Lamballe followed each other on the left.

Madame de Stael, then young, was at a window with Madame de Montmorin, wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The young woman was full of pleasurable excitement on seeing the procession, when the elder lady said to her, "You should not rejoice; great disasters will arise from what you see both to France and to us."

She spoke but too truly. She was herself destined to perish on the scaffold with one of her sons; her other son was drowned; her husband was amongst those massacred on the 2d of September; her elder daughter died in a prison hospital, while her younger one died overwhelmed with misery before she was thirty years old. For such terrible misfortunes, the short-sighted obstinacy of the nobles and the folly and weakness of the king were largely responsible.

When all had arrived at the Church of St. Louis, a Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated, and then the Bishop of Nancy preached a very injudicious sermon. At that time a sense of the extreme injustice of the exemption from taxation of the higher orders was universally diffused, save amongst those orders themselves. Nevertheless on this subject he said: "The renunciation of exemptions from taxation is a voluntary sacrifice which no one has a right to exact." And then as if he sought to rouse the jealous feelings of the third estate, he addressed the king as follows: "Sire, receive the homage of the clergy, the respect of the nobility and the very humble supplications of the commons."

As every one knows, the commons were treated with much indignity at the very beginning of the opening of the States General and again and again afterwards. In spite of the organization which had been given to the provincial assemblies by the government, and in spite of the concession that the commons should be twice as numerous as the representatives of the clergy and nobility

—in spite of all this—the government favored the separation and the three bodies and the vote by orders which nullified and stultified the doubling of the commons.

After prolonged efforts and the conferences between the orders with which no doubt our readers are more or less familiar, came the singular delay and the frivolous excuses made by the king when a deputation of commons sought an interview with him. It is now known the real reason was that according to ancient custom the commons could only be heard on their knees. It was felt that it would be difficult to get them to accede to such a ceremonial, while without it the king did not see his way to make a sufficient distinction between them and the privileged orders.

At last, when on the 23d of June, 1789, there took place the celebrated royal sitting, the king, amongst a number of reactionary statements, distinctly declared in Article XIV., that all feudal and seigneurial rights and dues, whether attached to persons or to lands, were to be maintained inviolate. He also refused Necker's advice to throw open the army and other employments to the commons.

Thereupon the nobles, thinking they had triumphed, gave vent to noisy demonstrations and went to express their thanks to the Count d'Artois and to the queen. They met the unfortunate Marie Antoinette leading her daughter by the hand and with the little Dauphin in her arms. Him she presented to them, while saying with infinite grace, that she should teach him to cherish the nobility and to regard them as the firmest support to the throne.

Meantime the royal conspiracy to do away with the States General by a *coup d'etat*, went on in its impotent way—impotent because not the most ordinary prudence had been exercised in maintaining discipline in the army.

Our task has been to depict the spirit and actions of the privileged classes, not to describe the French Revolution, but we may terminate our notice with the words of that intelligent American observer, General Morris, when it came to his knowledge that even the king's body-guard was no longer to be trusted. On July 1st, he wrote:

"The body-guards are, strange as it may appear, warm partisans of the commons. Thus the sword has slipped out of the hands of the monarch without his having become in the least aware of that fact."

But the passion and prejudice of the privileged orders adhered to members of the nobility for many a long year. It adhered to them during their exile, during the restoration, from 1814 onward,

only to die out with the last survivors of that generation in the days of Louis Philippe and the second empire.

The catastrophe in which the ruin of the ancient Church of France was involved with that of the ancient State, carries with it no unimportant lesson.

It shows plainly enough the evil effects of binding the Church in golden fetters to the chariot of the State and of making it an apparent accomplice in the tyranny and exactions of kings or nobles.

But it is not only kings or nobles, the wealthy or refined which can practice tyranny; as was abundantly and once for all demonstrated in the days of Robespierre and his infamous successors.

The mere fact that a man is a laborer or a skilled (or unskilled) artisan, does not necessarily make him a just citizen any more than it makes him a saint. Every man and every class of men is subject to the temptation of selfishness, greed, want of consideration for the just claims of others and downright tyranny. The lowest classes, as the most numerous, may here and there, now and again, become overwhelmingly the most powerful, while they remain least capable of using their power intelligently even for their own ultimate welfare. But whatever class becomes in turn the source of wealth and power, there must always be a temptation for men of other classes, clerics as well as laymen, to truckle to it and selfishly abet its injustice and exactions, and it is well to remember that there is at least no less baseness in truckling to King Mob, than to a grand monarque or a refined and in many ways admirable aristocracy like that which made shipwreck in France and sank to rise no more, together with all the glories and the follies, the sins and the charms of the French *Ancien Régime*.

St. George Mivart.

THE STUDY OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURE.

TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, ALL PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD, IN GRACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

POPE LEO XIII.

VENERABLE BRETHREN, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

THE God of all Providence, Who in the adorable designs of His love at first elevated the human race to the participation of the Divine nature, and afterwards delivered it from universal guilt and ruin, restoring it to its primitive dignity, has in consequence bestowed upon man a splendid gift and safeguard—making known to him, by supernatural means, the hidden mysteries of His Divinity, His wisdom and His mercy. For although in Divine revelation there are contained some things which are not beyond the reach of unassisted reason, and which are made the objects of such revelation in order "that all may come to know them with facility, certainty, and safety from error, yet not on this account can supernatural Revelation be said to be absolutely necessary; it is only necessary because God has ordinated man to a supernatural end."[1] This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church, is contained both in unwritten Tradition, and in written Books, which are therefore called sacred and canonical because, "being written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and as such have been delivered to the Church."[2] This belief has been perpetually held and professed by the Church in regard to the Books of both Testaments; and there are well-known documents of the gravest kind, coming down to us from the earliest times, which proclaim that God, Who spoke first by the Prophets, then by His own mouth, and lastly by the Apostles, composed also the Canonical Scriptures,[3] and that these are His own oracles and words[4]—a Letter, written by our Heavenly Father, and transmitted by the sacred writers to the human race in its pilgrimage so far from its heavenly country.[5] If, then, such

[1] Conc. Vat. sess. iii., cap. ii. de revel. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] S. Aug. de civ. Dei xi., 3.

[4] S. Clem. Rom. 1 ad. Cor. 45; S. Polycarp. ad Phil. 7; S. Iren. c. haer. ii. 28, 2.

[5] S. Chrys. in Gen. hom. 2, 2; S. Aug. in Ps. xxx., serm., 2, 1; S. Greg. M. ad Theod. ep. iv., 31.

and so great is the excellence and the dignity of the Scriptures, that God Himself has composed them, and that they treat of God's marvellous mysteries, counsels and works, it follows that the branch of sacred Theology which is concerned with the defence and elucidation of these divine Books must be excellent and useful in the highest degree.

Now We, who by the help of God, and not without fruit, have by frequent Letters and exhortation endeavored to promote other branches of study which seemed capable of advancing the glory of God and contributing to the salvation of souls, have for a long time cherished the desire to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture, and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day. The solicitude of the Apostolic office naturally urges, and even compels us, not only to desire that this grand source of Catholic revelation should be made safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of Jesus Christ, but also not to suffer any attempt to defile or corrupt it, either on the part of those who impiously and openly assail the Scriptures, or of those who are led astray into fallacious and imprudent novelties. We are not ignorant, indeed, Venerable Brethren, that there are not a few Catholics, men of talent and learning, who do devote themselves with ardor to the defence of the sacred writings and to making them better known and understood. But whilst giving to these the commendation they deserve, We cannot but earnestly exhort others also, from whose skill and piety and learning we have a right to expect good results, to give themselves to the same most praiseworthy work. It is Our wish and fervent desire to see an increase in the number of the approved and perservering laborers in the cause of Holy Scripture; and more especially that those whom Divine Grace has called to Holy Orders, should, day-by-day, as their state demands, display greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating, and explaining it.

Holy Scripture most Profitable to Doctrine and Morality.

Among the reasons for which the Holy Scripture is so worthy of commendation—in addition to its own excellence and to the homage which we owe to God's Word—the chief of all is, the innumerable benefits of which it is the source; according to the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost Himself, who says: "All Scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work."[1] That such was the purpose of God in giving the Scripture to men as shown by the example of

[1] 2 Tim. iii., 16–17.

Christ our Lord and of His Apostles. For He Himself Who "obtained authority by miracles, merited belief by authority, and by belief drew to Himself the multitude"[1] was accustomed in the exercise of his Divine Mission, to appeal to the Scriptures. He uses them at times to prove that He is sent by God, and is God Himself. From them He cites instructions for His disciples and confirmation of His doctrine. He vindicates them from the calumnies of objectors; he quotes them against Sadducees and Pharisees, and retorts from them upon Satan himself when he dares to tempt Him. At the close of His life His utterances are from Holy Scripture, and it is the Scripture that He expounds to His disciples after His resurrection until He ascends to the glory of His Father. Faithful to His precepts, the Apostles, although He Himself granted "signs and wonders to be done by their hands"[2] nevertheless used with the greatest effort the sacred writings, in order to persuade the nations everywhere of the wisdom of Christianity, to conquer the obstinacy of the Jews, and to suppress the outbreak of heresy. This is plainly seen in their discourses, especially in those of St. Peter: these were often little less than a series of citations from the Old Testament making in the strongest manner for the new dispensation. We find the same thing in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John and in the Catholic Epistles; and most remarkably of all in the words of him who "boasts that he learned the law at the feet of Gamaliel, in order that, being armed with spiritual weapons, he might afterwards say with confidence, 'The arms of our warfare are not carnal but mighty unto God.'"[3] Let all, therefore especially the novices of the ecclesiastical army, understand how deeply the sacred Books should be esteemed, and with what eagerness and reverence they should approach this great arsenal of heavenly arms. For those whose duty it is to handle Catholic doctrine before the learned or the unlearned will nowhere find more ample matter or more abundant exhortation, whether on the subject of God, the supreme Good and the all-perfect Being, or of the works which display His Glory and His love. Nowhere is there anything more full or more express on the subject of the Saviour of the world than is to be found in the whole range of the Bible. As St. Jerome says, "To be ignorant of the Scripture is not to know Christ."[4] In its pages His Image stands out, living and breathing; diffusing everywhere around consolation in trouble, encouragement to virtue and attraction to the love of God. And as to the Church, her institutions, her nature, her office, and her

[1] S. Aug. de util. cred. xiv.

[2] Act xiv, 3.

[3] St. Hieron. de stud. Script ad Paulin. ep. liii. 3.

[4] In Isaiam Prol.

gifts, we find in Holy Scripture so many references and so many ready and convincing arguments, that St. Jerome again most truly says: "A man who is well grounded in the testimonies of the Scripture is the bulwark of the Church."[1] And if we come to morality and discipline, an apostolic man finds in the sacred writings abundant and excellent assistance; most holy precepts, gentle and strong exhortation, splendid examples of every virtue, and finally the promise of eternal reward and the threat of eternal punishment, uttered in terms of solemn import, in God's name and in God's own words.

And it is this peculiar and singular power of Holy Scripture, arising from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which gives authority to the sacred orator, fills him with apostolic liberty of speech, and communicates force and power to his eloquence. For those who infuse into their efforts the spirit and strength of the Word of God, speak "not in word only but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much fulness."[2] Hence those preachers are foolish and improvident who, in speaking of religion and proclaiming the things of God, use no words but those of human science and human prudence, trusting to their own reasonings rather than to those of God. Their discourses may be brilliant and fine, but they must be feeble and they must be cold, for they are without the fire of the utterance of God[3] and they must fall far short of that mighty power which the speech of God possesses: "for the Word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit."[4] But, indeed, all those who have a right to speak are agreed that there is in the Holy Scripture an eloquence that is wonderfully varied and rich, and worthy of great themes. This St. Augustine thoroughly understood and has abundantly set forth.[5] This also is confirmed by the best preachers of all ages, who have gratefully acknowledged that they owed their repute chiefly to the assiduous use of the Bible, and to devout meditation on its pages.

The Holy Fathers well knew all this by practical experience, and they never cease to extol the sacred Scripture and its fruits. In innumerable passages of their writings we find them applying to it such phrases as "an inexhaustible treasury of heavenly doctrine,"[6] or "an overflowing fountain of salvation,"[7] or putting it before us as fertile pastures and beautiful gardens in which the

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[1] In Isaiam liv., 12. [2] I. Thess., i., 5. [3] Jerem. xxiii., 29.
[4] Hebr. iv., 12. [5] De doctr. Chr. iv., 6, 7.
[6] S. Chrys. in Gen. Hom., xxi, 2; Hom. lx., 3: S. Aug., de Disc., Christ., ii.
[7] S. Athan. ep. fest. xxxix.

flock of the Lord is marvellously refreshed and delighted.[1] Let us listen to the words of St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Nepotian: "Often read the divine Scriptures; yea, let holy reading be always in thy hand; study that which thou thyself must preach. . . . Let the speech of the priest be ever seasoned with Scriptural reading."[2] St. Gregory the Great, than whom no one has more admirably described the pastoral office, writes in the same sense: "those," he says, "who are zealous in the work of preaching must never cease the study of the written word of God."[3] St. Augustine, however, warns us that "vainly does the preacher utter the Word of God exteriorly unless he listens to it interiorly;"[4] and St. Gregory instructs sacred orators "first to find in Holy Scripture the knowledge of themselves, and then to carry it to others, lest in reproving others they forget themselves."[5] Admonitions such as these had, indeed, been uttered long before by the Apostolic voice which had learnt its lesson from Christ Himself, Who "began to do and teach." It was not to Timothy alone, but to the whole order of the clergy, that the command was addressed: "Take heed to thyself and to doctrine; be earnest in them. For in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."[6] For the saving and for the perfection of ourselves and others there is at hand the very best of help in the Holy Scriptures, as the Book of Psalms, among others, so constantly insists; but those only will find it who bring to this divine reading not only docility and attention, but also piety and an innocent life. For the Sacred Scripture is not like other books. Dictated by the Holy Ghost, it contains things of the deepest importance, which in many instances are most difficult and obscure. To understand and explain such things there is always required the "coming"[7] of the same Holy Spirit; that is to say, His light and His grace; and these, as the Royal Psalmist so frequently insists, are to be sought by humble prayer and guarded by holiness of life.

What the Bible Owes to the Catholic Church.

It is in this that the watchful care of the Church shines forth conspicuously, By admirable laws and regulations, she has always shown herself solicitous that "the celestial treasure of the Sacred Books, so bountifully bestowed upon man by the Holy Spirit, should not lie neglected."[8] She has prescribed that a con-

[1] S. Aug., serm. xxvi., 24; S. Ambra. in Ps. cxviii, serm. xix., 2.
[2] S. Hier. de vita cleric. ad Nepot.
[3] S. Greg. M, Regul. past. ii., 11 (al. 22); Moral. xviii., 26 (al. 14).
[4] S. Aug., serm. clxxix., 1.
[5] S. Greg., M. Regul. past., iii., 24 (al. 48). [6] I. Tim. iv., 16.
[7] S. Hier. in Mic. i., 10. [8] Conc. Trid. sess. v. decret. de reform, 1.

siderable portion of them shall be read and piously reflected upon by all her ministers in the daily office of the sacred psalmody. She has ordered that in Cathedral Churches, in monasteries, and in other convents in which study can conveniently be pursued, they shall be expounded and interpreted by capable men; and she has strictly commanded that her children shall be fed with the saving words of the Gospel at least on Sundays and solemn feasts.[1] Moreover, it is owing to the wisdom and exertions of the Church that there has always been continued from century to century that cultivation of Holy Scripture which has been so remarkable and has borne such ample fruit.

And here, in order to strengthen Our teaching and Our exhortations, it is well to recall how, from the beginning of Christianity, all who have been renowned for holiness of life and sacred learning, have given their deep and constant attention to Holy Scripture. If we consider the immediate disciples of the Apostles, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp—or the apologists, such as St. Justin and St. Irenæus, we find that in their letters and their books, whether in defence of the Catholic Faith or in its commendation, they draw faith, strength, and unction from the Word of God. When there arose, in various Sees, Catechetical and Theological schools, of which the most celebrated were those of Alexandria and of Antioch, there was little taught in those schools but what was contained in the reading, the interpretation and the defence of the divine written word. From them came forth numbers of Fathers and writers whose laborious studies and admirable writings have justly merited for the three following centuries the appellation of the golden age of biblical exegesis. In the Eastern Church, the greatest name of all is Origen —a man remarkable alike for penetration of genius and for persevering labor; from whose numerous works and his great *Hexapla* almost all have drawn that came after him. Others who have widened the field of this science may also be named, as especially eminent; thus, Alexandria could boast of St. Clement and St. Cyril; Palestine, of Eusebius and the other St. Cyril; Cappadocia, of St. Basil the Great and the two St. Gregories, of Nazianzus and Nyssa; Antioch, of St. John Chrysostom, in whom the science of Scripture was rivalled by the splendor of his eloquence. In the Western Church there were many names as great: Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Leo the Great, St. Gregory the Great; most famous of all, St. Augustine and St. Jerome, of whom the former was so marvellously acute in penetrating the sense of God's Word and so fertile in the use that he made of it

[1] *Ibid.* 1–2.

for the promotion of the Catholic truth, and the latter has received from the Church, by reason of his pre-eminent knowledge of Scripture and his labors in promoting its use, the name of the "great Doctor."[1] From this period down to the eleventh century, although Biblical studies did not flourish with the same vigor and the same fruitfulness as before, yet they did flourish, and principally by the instrumentality of the clergy. It was their care and solicitude that selected the best and most useful things that the ancients had left, arranged them in order, and published them with additions of their own—as did St. Isidore of Sevil'e, Venerable Bede, and Alcuin, among the most prominent; it was they who illustrated the sacred pages with "glosses" or short commentaries, as we see in Walafrid Strabo and St. Anselm of Laon, or expended fresh labor in securing their integrity, as did St. Peter Damian and Blessed Lanfranc. In the twelfth century many took up with great success the allegorical exposition of Scripture. In this kind, St. Bernard is pre-eminent; and his writings, it may be said, are Scripture all through. With the age of the scholastics came fresh and welcome progress in the study of the Bible. That the scholastics were solicitous about the genuineness of the Latin version is evident from the *Correctoria Biblica*, or lists of emendations, which they have left. But they expended their labors and industry chiefly on interpretation and explanation. To them we owe the accurate and clear distinction, such as had not been given before, of the various senses of the sacred words; the assignment of the value of each "sense" in theology; the division of books into parts, and the summaries of the various parts; the investigation of the objects of the writers; the demonstration of the connection of sentence with sentence, and clause with clause; all of which is calculated to throw much light on the more obscure passages of the sacred volume. The valuable work of the scholastics in Holy Scripture is seen in their theological treatises and in their Scripture commentaries; and in this respect the greatest name among them all is St. Thomas of Aquin.

When our predecessor, Clement V., established chairs of Oriental literature in the Roman College and in the principal Universities of Europe, Catholics began to make more accurate investigation on the original text of the Bible, as well as on the Latin version. The revival amongst us of Greek learning, and, much more, the happy invention of the art of printing, gave a strong impetus to Biblical studies. In a brief space of time, innumerable editions, especially of the Vulgate, poured from the press and were diffused throughout the Catholic world; so honored and loved was Holy Scripture

[1] See the Collect on his feast, September 30th.

during that very period against which the enemies of the Church direct their calumnies. Nor must we forget how many learned men there were, chiefly among the religious orders, who did excellent work for the Bible between the Council of Vienne and that of Trent; men who, by the employment of modern means and appliances, and by the tribute of their own genius and learning, not only added to the rich stores of ancient times, but prepared the way for the succeeding century, the century which followed the Council of Trent, when it almost seemed that the great age of the Fathers had returned. For it is well known, and We recall it with pleasure, that Our predecessors from Pius IV. to Clement VIII. caused to be prepared the celebrated editions of the Vulgate and the Septuagint, which, having been published by the command and authority of Sixtus V. and of the same Clement, are now in common use. At this time, moreover, were carefully brought out various other ancient versions of the Bible, and the Polyglots of Antwerp and of Paris, most important for the investigation of the true meaning of the text; nor is there any one Book of either Testament which did not find more than one expositor, nor any grave question which did not profitably exercise the ability of many inquirers, among whom there are not a few—more especially of those who made most use of the Fathers—who have acquired great reputation. From that time downwards the labor and solicitude of Catholics has never been wanting; for, as time went on, eminent scholars have carried on Biblical study with success, and have defended Holy Scripture against *rationalism* with the same weapons of philology and kindred sciences with which it had been attacked. The calm and fair consideration of what has been said will clearly show that the Church has never failed in taking due measures to bring the Scriptures within reach of her children, and that she has ever held fast and exercised profitably that guardianship conferred upon her by almighty God for the protection and glory of his Holy Word; so that she has never required, nor does she now require, any stimulation from without.

How to Study Holy Scripture.

We must now, Venerable Brethren, as our purpose demands, impart to you such counsels as seem best suited for carrying on successfully the study of Biblical science.

But first it must be clearly understood whom we have to oppose and contend against, and what are their tactics and their arms. In earlier times the contest was chiefly with those who, relying on private judgment and repudiating the divine traditions and teaching office of the Church, held the Scriptures to be the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of Faith. Now, we have

to meet the Rationalists, true children and inheritors of the older heretics, who, trusting in their turn to their own way of thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them. They deny that there is any such thing as revelation or inspiration, or Holy Scripture at all; they see, instead, only the forgeries and the falsehoods of men; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories: the prophecies and the oracles of God are to them either predictions made up after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature; the miracles and the wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere tricks or myths; and the Apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the Apostles at all. These detestable errors, whereby they think they destroy the truth of the divine Books, are obtruded on the world as the peremptory pronouncements of a certain newly-invented "free science;" a science, however, which is so far from final that they are perpetually modifying and supplementing it. And there are some of them who, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God, and Christ, the Gospels and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered both theologians and Christians and men of the Gospel, and who attempt to disguise by such honorable names their rashness and their pride. To them we must add not a few professors of other sciences who approve their views and give them assistance, and are urged to attack the Bible by a similar intolerance of revelation. And it is deplorable to see these attacks growing every day more numerous and more severe. It is sometimes men of learning and judgment who are assailed; but these have little difficulty in defending themselves from evil consequences. The efforts and the arts of the enemy are chiefly directed against the more ignorant masses of the people. They diffuse their deadly poison by means of books, pamphlets, and newspapers; they spread it by addresses and by conversation; they are found everywhere; and they are in possession of numerous schools taken by violence from the Church, in which, by ridicule and scurrilous jesting, they pervert the credulous and unformed minds of the young to the contempt of the Holy Scripture. Should not these things, Venerable Brethren, stir up and set on fire the heart of every Pastor, so that to this "knowledge, falsely so called,"[1] may be opposed the ancient and true science which the Church, through the Apostles, has received from Christ, and that Holy Scripture may find the champions that are needed in so momentous a battle?

Let our first care then be to see that in Seminaries and Acade-

[1] I. Tim. vi., 20.

mical institutions the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of the time demand. With this view, the first thing which requires attention is the wise choice of Professors. Teachers of Sacred Scripture are not to be appointed at hap-hazard out of the crowd; but they must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of, and their long familiarity with, the Bible, and by suitable learning and study.

It is a matter of equal importance to provide in time for a continuous succession of such teachers; and it will be well, wherever this can be done, to select young men of good promise who have successfully accomplished their theological course, and to set them apart exclusively for Holy Scripture, affording them facilities for full and complete studies. Professors thus chosen and thus prepared may enter with confidence on the task that is appointed for them; and that they may carry out their work well and profitably, let them take heed to the instructions We now proceed to give.

At the commencement of a course of Holy Scripture let the Professor strive earnestly to form the judgment of the young beginners so as to train them equally to defend the sacred writings and to penetrate their meaning. This is the object of the treatise which is called "Introduction." Here the student is taught how to prove the integrity and authority of the Bible, how to investigate and ascertain its true sense, and how to meet and refute objections. It is needless to insist upon the importance of making these preliminary studies in an orderly and thorough fashion, with the accompaniment and assistance of Theology; for the whole subsequent course must rest on the foundation thus laid and make use of the light thus acquired. Next, the teacher will turn his earnest attention to that more fruitful division of Scripture science which has to do with Interpretation; wherein is imparted the method of using the word of God for the advantage of religion and piety. We recognize without hesitation that neither the extent of the matter nor the time at disposal allows each single Book of the Bible to be separately gone through. But the teaching should result in a definite and ascertained method of interpretation—and therefore the Professor should equally avoid the mistake of giving a mere taste of every Book, and of dwelling at too great length on a part of one Book. If most schools cannot do what is done in the large institutions—that is, take the students through the whole of one or two Books continuously and with a certain development—yet at least those parts which are selected should be treated with suitable fulness; in such a way that the students may learn from the sample that is thus put before them to love and use the remainder of the sacred Book during the whole of their lives.

The Professor, following the tradition of antiquity, will make use of the Vulgate as his text; for the Council of Trent decreed that "in public lectures, disputations, preaching, and exposition,"[1] the Vulgate is the "authentic" version; and this is the existing custom of the Church. At the same time the other versions which Christian antiquity has approved, should not be neglected, more especially the more ancient MSS. For although the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek is substantially rendered by the Vulgate, nevertheless wherever there may be ambiguity or want of clearness, the "examination of older tongues,"[2] to quote St. Augustine, will be useful and advantageous. But in this matter we need hardly say that the greatest prudence is required, for the "office of commentator," as St. Jerome says, "is to set forth not what he himself would prefer, but what his author says."[3] The question of "readings" having been, when necessary, carefully discussed, the next thing is to investigate and expound the meaning. And the first counsel to be given is this: That the more our adversaries contend to the contrary, so much the more solicitously should we adhere to the received and approved canons of interpretation. Hence, whilst weighing the meanings of words, the connection of ideas, the parallelism of passages, and the like, we should by all means make use of such illustrations as can be drawn from apposite erudition of an external sort; but this should be done with caution, so as not to bestow on questions of this kind more labor and time than are spent on the Sacred Books themselves, and not to overload the minds of the students with a mass of information that will be rather a hindrance than a help.

Holy Scripture and Theology; Interpretation; the Fathers.

The Professor may now safely pass on to the use of Scripture in matters of Theology. On this head it must be observed that in addition to the usual reasons which make ancient writings more or less difficult to understand, there are some which are peculiar to the Bible. For the language of the Bible is employed to express, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, many things which are beyond the power and scope of the reason of man—that is to say, divine mysteries and all that is related to them. There is sometimes in such passages a fulness and a hidden depth of meaning which the letter hardly expresses and which the laws of interpretation hardly warrant. Moreover, the literal sense itself frequently admits other senses, adapted to illustrate dogma or to confirm morality. Wherefore, it must be recognized that the

[1] Sess. iv., decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.

[2] De doctr. chr. iii., 4

[3] Ad Pammachium.

sacred writings are wrapt in a certain religious obscurity, and that no one can enter into their interior without a guide ; [1] God so disposing, as the Holy Fathers commonly teach, in order that men may investigate them with greater ardor and earnestness, and that what is attained with difficulty may sink more deeply into the mind and heart ; and, most of all, that they may understand that God has delivered the Holy Scriptures to the Church, and that in reading and making use of His Word, they must follow the Church as their guide and their teacher. St. Irenæus long since laid down, that where the *charismata* of God were, there the truth was to be learnt, and that Holy Scripture was safely interpreted by those who had the Apostolic succession. [2] His teaching, and that of other Holy Fathers, is taken up by the Council of the Vatican, which, in renewing the decree of Trent declares its "mind" to be this—that "in things of faith and morals, belonging to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be considered the true sense of Holy Scripture which has been held and is held by our Holy Mother the Church, whose place it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures ; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture against such sense or also against the unanimous agreement of the Fathers." [3] By this most wise decree the Church by no means prevents or restrains the pursuit of Biblical science, but rather protects it from error, and largely assists its real progress. A wide field is still left open to the private student, in which his hermeneutical skill may display itself with signal effect and to the advantage of the Church. On the one hand, in those passages of Holy Scripture which have not as yet received a certain and definitive interpretation, such labors may, in the benignant providence of God, prepare for and bring to maturity the judgment of the Church ; on the other, in passages already defined, the private student may do work equally valuable, either by setting them forth more clearly to the flock and more skillfully to scholars, or by defending them more powerfully from hostile attack. Wherefore the first and dearest object of the Catholic commentator should be to interpret those passages which have received an authentic interpretation either from the sacred writers themselves, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (as in many places of the New Testament), or from the Church, under the assistance of the same Holy Spirit, whether by her solemn judgment or her ordinary and universal

[1] S. Hier. ad Paulin. de studio Script. ep. liii., 4.

[2] C. haer. iv., 26, 5.

[3] Sess. iii., cap. ii , de revel. ; cf. Conc. Trid. sess. iv., decret de edit. et usu sacr. libror.

magisterium [1]—to interpret these passages in that identical sense, and to prove, by all the resources of science, that sound hermeneutical laws admit of no other interpretation. In the other passages, the analogy of faith should be followed, and Catholic doctrine, as authoritatively proposed by the Church, should be held as the supreme law; for, seeing that the same God is the author both of the Sacred Books and of the doctrine committed to the Church, it is clearly impossible that any teaching can by legitimate means be extracted from the former, which shall in any respect be at variance with the latter. Hence it follows that all interpretation is foolish and false which either makes the sacred writers disagree one with another, or is opposed to the doctrine of the Church. The Professor of Holy Scripture, therefore, amongst other recommendations, must be well acquainted with the whole circle of Theology and deeply read in the commentaries of the Holy Fathers and Doctors, and other interpreters of mark. [2] This is inculcated by St. Jerome, and still more frequently by St. Augustine, who thus justly complains: "If there is no branch of teaching, however humble and easy to learn, which does not require a master, what can be a greater sign of rashness and pride than to refuse to study the Books of the divine mysteries by the help of those who have interpreted them?" [3] The other Fathers have said the same, and have confirmed it by their example, for they "endeavored to acquire the understanding of the Holy Scriptures not by their own lights and ideas, but from the writings and authority of the ancients, who in their turn, as we know, received the rule of interpretation in direct line from the Apostles." [4] The Holy Fathers "to whom, after the Apostles, the Church owes its growth—who have planted, watered, built, governed and cherished it,"[5]—the Holy Fathers, we say, are of supreme authority, whenever they all interpret in one and the same manner any text of the Bible, as pertaining to the doctrine of faith or morals; for their unanimity clearly evinces that such interpretation has come down from the Apostles as a matter of Catholic faith. The opinion of the Fathers is also of very great weight when they treat of these matters in their capacity of doctors, unofficially; not only because they excel in their knowledge of revealed doctrine and in their acquaintance with many things which are useful in understanding the apostolic Books, but because they are men of eminent sanctity and of ardent zeal for the truth, on whom God has bestowed a more ample measure of His light. Wherefore the expositor

[1] Conc. Vat. sess. iii., cap. ii., de fide.
[2] *Ibid.* 6, 7.
[3] Ad. Honorat. de util. cred. xvii., 35.
[4] Rufinus, Hist. eccl. ii., 9.
[5] S. Aug. c. Julian. ii., 10, 37.

should make it his duty to follow their footsteps with all reverence, and to use their labors with intelligent appreciation.

But he must not on that account consider that it is forbidden, when just cause exists, to push inquiry and exposition beyond what the Fathers have done; provided he carefully observes the rule so wisely laid down by St. Augustine—not to depart from the literal and obvious sense, except only where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires;[1] a rule to which it is the more necessary to adhere strictly in these times, when the thirst for novelty and unrestrained freedom of thought make the danger of error most real and proximate. Neither should those passages be neglected which the Fathers have understood in an allegorical or figurative sense, more especially when such interpretation is justified by the literal, and when it rests on the authority of many. For this method of interpretation has been received by the Church from the Apostles, and has been approved by her own practice, as the holy Liturgy attests; although it is true that the holy Fathers did not thereby pretend directly to demonstrate dogmas of faith, but used it as a means of promoting virtue and piety, such as, by their own experience, they knew to be most valuable. The authority of other Catholic interpreters is not so great; but the study of Scripture has always continued to advance in the Church, and, therefore, these commentaries also have their own honorable place, and are serviceable in many ways for the refutation of assailants and the explanation of difficulties. But it is most unbecoming to pass by, in ignorance or contempt, the excellent work which Catholics have left in abundance, and to have recourse to the works of non-Catholics—and to seek in them, to the detriment of sound doctrine and often to the peril of faith, the explanation of passages on which Catholics long ago have successfully employed their talent and their labor. For although the studies of non-Catholics, used with prudence, may sometimes be of use to the Catholic student, he should, nevertheless, bear well in mind—as the Fathers also teach in numerous passages[2]—that the sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside of the Church, and cannot be expected to be found in writers who, being without the true faith, only gnaw the bark of the Sacred Scripture, and never attain its pith.

Most desirable is it, and most essential, that the whole teaching of Theology should be pervaded and animated by the use of the divine Word of God. This is what the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages have desired and reduced to practice. It

[1] De Gen. ad litt. lviii., c. 7, 13.

[2] Cfr. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii., 16; Orig. de princ. iv., 8; in Levit. hom. 4, 8; Tertull. de praescr. 15, seqq.; S. Hilar. Pict. in Matth. 13, 1.

was chiefly out of the Sacred Writings that they endeavored to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected, and it was in them, together with divine Tradition, that they found the refutation of heretical error, and the reasonableness, the true meaning, and the mutual relation of the truths of Catholicism. Nor will any one wonder at this who considers that the Sacred Books hold such an eminent position among the sources of revelation that without their assiduous study and use, Theology cannot be placed on its true footing, or treated as its dignity demands. For although it is right and proper that students in academies and schools should be chiefly exercised in acquiring a scientific knowledge of dogma, by means of reasoning from the Articles of Faith to their consequences, according to the rules of approved and sound philosophy—nevertheless the judicious and instructed theologian will by no means pass by that method of doctrinal demonstration which draws its proof from the authority of the Bible; "for (Theology) does not receive her first principles from any other science, but immediately from God by revelation. And, therefore, she does not receive from other sciences as from a superior, but uses them as her inferiors or handmaids."[1] It is this view of doctrinal teaching which is laid down and recommended by the prince of theologians, St. Thomas of Aquin;[2] who, moreover, shows—such being the essential character of Christian Theology—how she can defend her own principles against attack: "If the adversary," he says, "do but grant any portion of the divine revelation, we have an argument against him; thus, against a heretic we can employ Scripture authority, and against those who deny one article, we can use another. But if our opponent reject divine revelation entirely, there is then no way left to prove the Articles of Faith by reasoning; we can only solve the difficulties which are raised against them."[3] Care must be taken, then, that beginners approach the study of the Bible well prepared and furnished; otherwise, just hopes will be frustrated, or, perchance, what is worse, they will unthinkingly risk the danger of error, falling an easy prey to the sophisms and labored erudition of the Rationalists. The best preparation will be a conscientious application to philosophy and theology under the guidance of St. Thomas of Aquin, and a thorough training therein—as We ourselves have elsewhere pointed out and directed. By this means, both in Biblical studies and in that part of Theology which is called *positive*, they will pursue the right path and make satisfactory progress.

[1] S. Greg. M. Moral xx., 9 (al 11).
[2] Summ. theol. p. i., q. i., a. 5 ad 2.
[3] *Ibid*, a. 8.

The Authority of Holy Scripture; Modern Criticism; Physical Science.

To prove, to expound, to illustrate Catholic Doctrine by the legitimate and skilful interpretation of the Bible, is much; but there is a second part of the subject of equal importance and equal difficulty—the maintenance in the strongest possible way of its full authority. This cannot be done completely or satisfactorily except by means of the living and proper *magisterium* of the Church. The Church, "by reason of her wonderful propagation, her distinguished sanctity and inexhaustible fecundity in good, her Catholic unity, and her unshaken stability, is herself a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an unassailable testimony to her own divine mission."[1] But since the divine and infallible *magisterium* of the Church rests also upon the authority of Holy Scripture, the first thing to be done is to vindicate the trustworthiness of the sacred records at least as human documents, from which can be clearly proved, as from primitive and authentic testimony, the Divinity and the mission of Christ our Lord, the institution of a hierarchical Church and the primacy of Peter and his successors. It is most desirable, therefore, that there should be numerous members of the clergy well prepared to enter upon a contest of this nature, and to repulse hostile assaults, chiefly trusting in that armor of God recommended by the Apostle,[2] but also not unaccustomed to modern methods of attack. This is beautifully alluded to by St. John Chrysostom, when describing the duties of priests: "We must use every endeavor that the 'Word of God may dwell in us abundantly,'[3] and not merely for one kind of fight must we be prepared—for the contest is many-sided and the enemy is of every sort; and they do not all use the same weapons nor make their onset in the same way. Wherefore it is needful that the man who has to contend against all should be acquainted with the engines and the arts of all—that he should be at once archer and slinger, commandant and officer, general and private soldier, foot soldier and horseman, skilled in sea-fight and in siege; for unless he knows every trick and turn of war, the devil is well able, if only a single door be left open, to get in his fierce bands and carry off the sheep."[4] The sophisms of the enemy and his manifold arts of attack we have already touched upon. Let us now say a word of advice on the means of defence. The first means is the study of the Oriental languages

[1] Conc. Vat. sess. iii., c. iii. *de fide.*
[2] Eph. vi., 13, *seqq.*
[3] Cfr., Coloss. iii., 16.
[4] De Sacerdotio iv., 4.

and of the art of criticism. These two acquirements are in these days held in high estimation, and therefore the clergy, by making themselves more or less fully acquainted with them as time and place may demand, will the better be able to discharge their office with becoming credit; for they must make themselves "all to all,"[1] always "ready to satisfy every one that asketh them a reason for the hope that is in them."[2] Hence it is most proper that Professors of Sacred Scripture and theologians should master those tongues in which the Sacred Books were originally written; and it would be well that Church students also should cultivate them, more especially those who aspire to academic degrees. And endeavors should be made to establish in all academic institutions—as has already been laudably done in many—chairs of the other ancient languages, especially the Semitic, and of other subjects connected therewith, for the benefit principally of those who are intended to profess sacred literature. These latter, with a similar object in view, should make themselves well and thoroughly acquainted with the art of true criticism. There has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of the "higher criticism," which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity and authority of each Book from internal indications alone. It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and the handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the utmost care; and that in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation. To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion much more bold and confident in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books; and this vaunted "higher criticism" will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons; and seeing that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order.

In the second place, we have to contend against those who, making an evil use of physical science, minutely scrutinize the Sacred Book in order to detect the writers in a mistake, and to take occasion to vilify its contents. Attacks of this kind, bearing

[1] I. Cor. ix., 22. [2] I. Peter iii., 15.

as they do on matters of sensible experience, are peculiarly dangerous to the masses, and also to the young who are beginning their literary studies; for the young, if they lose their reverence for the Holy Scripture on one or more points, are easily led to give up believing in it altogether, It need not be pointed out how the nature of science, just as it is so admirably adapted to show forth the glory of the Great Creator, provided it be taught as it should be, so if it be perversely imparted to the youthful intelligence, it may prove most fatal in destroying the principles of true philosophy and in the corruption of morality. Hence to the Professor of Sacred Scripture a knowledge of natural science will be of very great assistance in detecting such attacks on the Sacred Books, and in refuting them. There can never, indeed, be any real discrepancy between the theologian and the physicist, as long as each confines himself within his own lines, and both are careful, as St. Augustine warns us, "not to make rash assertions, or to assert what is not known as known."[1] If dissension should arise between them, here is a rule also laid down by St. Augustine, for the theologian: "Whatever they can really demonstrate to be true of physical nature, we must show to be capable of reconciliation with our Scriptures, and whatever they assert in their treatises which is contrary to these Scriptures of ours, that is to Catholic faith, we must either prove it as well as we can to be entirely false, or at all events we must, without the smallest hesitation, believe it to be so."[2] To understand how just is the rule here formulated we must remember, first, that the sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost "Who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable unto salvation."[3] Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—"went by what sensibly appeared,"[4] or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.

The unshrinking defence of the Holy Scripture, however, does not require that we should equally uphold all the opinions which

[1] In Gen. op. imperf. ix., 30.
[2] De Gen. ad litt., i., 21, 41.
[3] S. Aug. ib. ii., 9, 20.
[4] Summa theol. p. 1, q. lxxx., a. 1, ad 3.

each of the Fathers or of the more recent interpreters have put forth in explaining it; for it may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect. Hence, in their interpretations, we must carefully note what they lay down as belonging to faith, or as intimately connected with faith—what they are unanimous in. For "in those things which do not come under the obligation of faith, the Saints were at liberty to hold divergent opinions, just as we ourselves are,"[1] according to the saying of St. Thomas. And in another place he says most admirably: "When philosophers are agreed upon a point, and it is not contrary to our faith, it is safer, in my opinion, neither to lay down such a point as a dogma of faith, even though it is perhaps so presented by the philosophers, nor to reject it as against faith, less we thus give to the wise of this world an occasion of despising our faith."[2] The Catholic interpreter, although he should show that those facts of natural science which investigators affirm to be now quite certain are not contrary to the Scripture rightly explained, must nevertheless always bear in mind, that much which has been held and proved as certain has afterwards been called in question and rejected. And if writers on physics travel outside the boundaries of their own branch, and carry their erroneous teaching into the domain of philosophy, let them be handed over to philosophers for refutation.

Inspiration Incompatible with Error.

The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to History. It is a lamentable fact that there are many who with great labor carry out and publish investigations on the monuments of antiquity, the manners and institutions of nations and other illustrative subjects, and whose chief purpose in all this is too often to find mistakes in the sacred writings and so to shake and weaken their authority. Some of these writers display not only extreme hostility, but the greatest unfairness; in their eyes a profane book or ancient document is accepted without hesitation, whilst the Scripture, if they only find in it a suspicion of error, is set down with the slightest possible discussion as quite untrustworthy. It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible; this question, when it arises, should be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact not too easily admitted, but only in those passages where the proof is clear. It

[1] In Sent. ii., Dist. q. i., a. 3.

[2] Opusc. x.

may also happen that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, and in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think) in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican. These are the words of the last: "The Books of the Old and New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the same Council (Trent) and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical. And the Church holds them as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author."[1] Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot therefore say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary author. For, by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire scripture. Such has always been the persuasion of the Fathers. "Therefore," says St. Augustine, "since they wrote the things which He showed and uttered to them, it cannot be pretended that He is not the writer; for His members executed

[1] Sess. iii., c. ii, de Rev.

what their Head dictated."[1] And St. Gregory the Great thus pronounces: "Most superfluous it is to inquire who wrote these things—we loyally believe the Holy Ghost to be the Author of the book. He wrote it Who dictated it for writing; He wrote it Who inspired its execution."[2]

It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the sacred writings, either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, or make God the author of such error. And so emphatically were all the Fathers and Doctors agreed that the divine writings, as left by the hagiographers, are free from all error, that they labored earnestly, with no less skill than reverence, to reconcile with each other those numerous passages which seem at variance—the very passages which in great measure have been taken up by the "higher criticism"; for they were unanimous in laying it down, that those writings in their entirety and in all their parts were equally from the *afflatus* of Almighty God, and that God, speaking by the sacred writers, could not set down anything but what was true. The words of St. Augustine to St. Jerome may sum up what they taught: "On my own part I confess to your charity that it is only to those Books of Scripture which are now called canonical that I have learned to pay such honor and reverence as to believe most firmly that none of their writers has fallen into any error. And if in these Books I meet anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude either that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not expressed the meaning of the passage, or that I myself do not understand."[3]

But to undertake fully and perfectly, and with all the weapons of the best science, the defence of the Holy Bible is far more than can be looked for from the exertions of commentators and theologians alone. It is an enterprise in which we have a right to expect the co-operation of all those Catholics who have acquired reputation in any branch of learning whatever. As in the past, so at the present time, the Church is never without the graceful support of her accomplished children; may their services to the Faith grow and increase! For there is nothing which We believe to be more needful than that truth should find defenders more powerful and more numerous than the enemies it has to face; nor is there anything which is better calculated to impress the masses with respect for truth than to see it boldly proclaimed by learned and distinguished men. Moreover, the bitter tongues of objectors will be silenced, or at least they will not dare to insist so shame-

[1] De consensu Evangel., l 1, c. 35.

[2] Praef. in Job, n. 2.

[3] Ep. lxxvii., 1. et crebrius alibi.

lessly that faith is the enemy of science, when they see that scientific men of eminence in their profession show towards faith the most marked honor and respect. Seeing, then, that those can do so much for the advantage of religion, on whom the goodness of Almighty God has bestowed, together with the grace of the faith, great natural talent, let such men, in this bitter conflict of which the Holy Scripture is the object, select each of them the branch of study most suitable to his circumstances, and endeavor to excel therein, and thus be prepared to repulse with credit and distinction the assaults on the Word of God. And it is Our pleasing duty to give deserved praise to a work which certain Catholics have taken up—that is to say, the formation of societies and the contribution of considerable sums of money, for the purpose of supplying studious and learned men with every kind of help and assistance in carrying out complete studies. Truly an excellent fashion of investing money, and well suited to the times in which we live! The less hope of public patronage there is for Catholic study, the more ready and the more abundant should be the liberality of private persons—those to whom God has given riches thus willingly making use of their means to safeguard the treasure of His revealed doctrine.

Summary.

In order that all these endeavors and exertions may really prove advantageous to the cause of the Bible, let scholars keep steadfastly to the principles which We have in this Letter laid down. Let them loyally hold that God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, is also the Author of the Scriptures—and that, therefore, nothing can be proved, either by physical science or archæology, which can really contradict the Scripture. If, then, apparent contradiction be met with, every effort should be made to remove it. Judicious theologians and commentators should be consulted as to what is the true or most probable meaning of the passage in discussion, and the hostile arguments should be carefully weighed. Even if the difficulty is after all not cleared up and the discrepancy seems to remain, the contest must not be abandoned; truth cannot contradict truth, and we may be sure that some mistake has been made either in the interpretation of the sacred words, or in the polemical discussion itself; and if no such mistake can be detected, we must then suspend judgment for the time being. There have been objections without number perseveringly directed against the Scripture for many a long year, which have been proved to be futile and are never heard of; and not unfrequently interpretations have been placed on certain passages of Scripture (not belonging to the rule of faith or morals) which have been rectified by more

careful investigations. As time goes on, mistaken views die and disappear; but "truth remaineth and groweth stronger for ever and ever."[1] Wherefore, as no one should be so presumptuous as to think that he understands the whole of the Scripture, in which St. Augustine himself confessed that there was more that he did not know, than that he knew,[2] so, if he should come upon anything that seems incapable of solution, he must take to heart the cautious rule of the same holy Doctor: "It is better even to be oppressed by unknown useful signs, than to interpret them uselessly and thus to throw off the yoke only to be caught in the trap of error."[3]

As to those who pursue the subsidiary studies of which We have spoken, if they honestly and modestly follow the counsels we have given—if by their pen and their voice they make their studies profitable against the enemies of truth, and useful in saving the young from the loss of their faith—they may justly congratulate themselves on their worthy service of the Sacred Writings, and on affording to Catholicism that assistance which the Church has a right to expect from the piety and learning of her children.

Such, Venerable Brethren, are the admonitions and the instructions which, by the help of God, We have thought it well, at the present moment, to offer to you on the study of Holy Scripture. It will now be your province to see that what we have said be observed and put in practice with all due reverence and exactness; that so, we may prove our gratitude to God for the communication to man of the Words of his Wisdom, and that all the good results so much to be desired may be realized, especially as they affect the training of the students of the Church, which is our own great solicitude and the Church's hope. Exert yourselves with willing alacrity, and use your authority and your persuasion in order that these studies may be held in just regard and may flourish, in seminaries and in the educational Institutions which are under your jurisdiction. Let them flourish in completeness and in happy success, under the direction of the Church, in accordance with the salutary teaching and example of the Holy Fathers and the laudable traditions of antiquity; and, as time goes on, let them be widened and extended as the interests and glory of truth may require—the interest of that Catholic Truth which comes from above, the never-failing source of man's salvation. Finally, We admonish with paternal love all students and ministers of the Church always to approach the Sacred Writings with reverence and piety; for it is impossible to attain to the profitable understanding thereof unless the arrogance of "earthly" science be laid aside,

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[1] 3 Esdr. iv., 38.
[2] Ad Ianuar. ep. lv., 21.
[3] De doctr. chr. iii., 9, 18.

and there be excited in the heart the holy desire for that wisdom "which is from above." In this way the intelligence which is once admitted to these sacred studies, and thereby illuminated and strengthened, will acquire a marvellous facility in detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, and in gathering and using for eternal salvation all that is valuable and precious; whilst at the same time the heart will grow warm, and will strive with ardent longing to advance in virtue and in divine love. "Blessed are they who examine His testimonies; they shall seek Him with their whole heart."[1]

And now, filled with hope in the divine assistance, and trusting to your pastoral solicitude—as a pledge of heavenly grace and a sign of Our special good-will—to you all, and to the Clergy and the whole flock entrusted to you, we lovingly impart in Our Lord the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, the 18th day of November, 1893, the sixteenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

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[1] Ps. xviii., 2.

THE POPE AND THE SCRIPTURES.

FOR some time before the publication of the recent Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus* on the *Study of the Scriptures*, we had been accustomed to hear much wild talk and strange surmises in regard to the Pope's attitude towards some modern views on the Scriptures, which are generally summed up under the vague term of "higher criticism." Some asserted that the Pope, inasmuch as he was in full sympathy with "the age," was prepared to endorse even the most "advanced views" of modern critics. Others were not so sanguine; but to bring matters to a head, they would put the Pope between the two horns of a dilemma: either to give his unqualified approval to, or to condemn *ex cathedra*, the conclusions of "higher criticism."

The chief mouth-piece of this latter class of "Catholics" was an anonymous writer in the *Contemporary Review*, who will be remembered as the author of the famous articles on "The Policy of the Pope."

This impersonal writer—he seemed to be rather the tool of a coterie of advanced liberals than a responsible writer—puts the case in this rather exaggerated form:

"I, and many loyal Catholics (?) with me, hold the following (tenets), and will continue to hold and profess them, until and unless they are condemned by an Œcumenical Council, or by the Holy Father *ex cathedra:*

"1. That Moses did not write or dictate any of the books commonly ascribed to him by our theologians; that these records were originally composed, not as theologians teach, in the sixteenth or fifteenth century, B.C., but about the time of the oldest prophets whose writings form part of our canon.

"2. That in the other historical books of the Bible (Judges, Samuel and Kings) we can clearly distinguish sources which run parallel to the oldest sources of the Hexateuch and to Deuteronomy, whereas the portions which exhibit the characteristics of the Priests' Code form the contents of a separate book known as Chronicles.

"3. That the sections of 'Isaiah,' which treat of Babylon and its destruction, cannot have been composed by Isaiah, in whose time there was no Babylonian empire, for that prophet, or rather those prophets, speak of the Jews not as destined at some future time to suffer exile but as actually languishing in exile, from which they are shortly to be delivered.

"4. That there can be no reasonable doubt in the mind of any unbiased thinker, who has carefully sifted the evidence, that the Book of Daniel could not have been written in the sixth century before Christ, nor, indeed, earlier than 164 B.C.

"5. That the Psalms, most of which we ascribe to David, are compositions of a very late period, which gave elegiac utterance to the sorrows and hopes of the people of Israel, partly during the persecution inaugurated by Antiochus Epiphanes.

"6. The number and variety of the sources of the Biblical records render it *a priori* probable, and a comparison of the contents makes it absolutely certain that the discrepancies between the different accounts of one and the same event oftentimes amount to utter incompatibility, which no force of logic, no human ingenuity, nothing, in short, but Catholic 'Hermeneutics' can possibly smooth away.

"7. That Jonas, Esther, Judith, Tobias and Job are not historical writings but religious works of fiction, while the narratives of some of the most ancient books are as mythical as the stories of the Eddas.

"I adhere to these propositions in spite of the fact that they are incompatible with the doctrines of the 'teaching Church.'"—*Contemporary Review*, April, 1893.

We quote this entire programme, because it gives us, if not an accurately scientific, at least a tolerably correct and popular statement of the trend and the tenets of "higher criticism." As to whether such anonymous utterances, claiming to come from Catholics, and the sporadic outbursts of some individual "liberal Catholic" scientists and would-be Bible-critics had anything to do with the publication of the Encyclical on the Scriptures, or not, we will not venture an opinion. But we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that the document was very opportunely issued. In the face of such blustering, truly or falsely purporting to come from Catholic scholars, though it was in reality nothing more than a patchwork of plagiarism from rationalist and agnostic sources, some expression of opinion from Rome was, to say the least, most desirable; and it came. How far it responded to the hopes and demands of the liberal criers, we shall see in the sequel.

We have given the programme of the liberal school in the words of its own mouth-piece. We shall now turn to the Pope's Encyclical, and the reader can make the comparison for himself. We shall hardly attempt to refute false theories. We shall only report, barely hinting such reflections and comments as may aid the average intelligent reader towards the understanding of this important document. We shall first briefly sketch the contents of the Encyclical, and then consider in detail some points of doctrine which it reaffirms and emphasizes.

PART I.

The Encyclical, as may be seen at a glance, is altogether of a practical character—a forcible exhortation to the study of the Scriptures, and a practical instruction on the manner in which they are to be taught and studied. After a brief introduction, in which the Holy Father sets forth the doctrine on supernatural revelation and the inspiration of the Scriptures, he clearly announces his motive in writing and the purpose of this Encyclical.

"We are moved, and almost constrained," he says, "by the solicitude of our apostolic office, not only to open more safely and fully for the benefit of the Lord's flock this illustrious source of revelation, but also *to prevent it from being tainted by those who, either with impious temerity openly attack the sacred writings, or who insidiously or unwisely devise certain* NEW INTERPRETATIONS. . . . It is our earnest desire that a still greater number of scholars should skilfully take up, and perseveringly conduct, the defence of the divine Scriptures; and that those particularly whom divine grace has called to the priesthood should, as is becoming, employ even greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating and expounding them."

The body of the document consists of two parts: 1. The *motives* which should incite ecclesiastics to the study and use of the Scriptures (pp. 7–17); 2. The *manner* in which the Scriptures are to be taught and studied (pp. 17–42, Roman edition).

I. In the first part the Holy Father takes his key-note, as it were, from the text of St. Paul to Timothy:[1] "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice; that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work." This utility has been proved by Christ Himself and His Apostles, who made extensive use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament to instruct and to convince their hearers; by the example and teaching of the Fathers, who, from the earliest ages, both in the Eastern and Western Churches, distinguished themselves by their familiarity with, and frequent use of, the Scriptures, and earnestly exhorted their disciples to this study.

This study of Holy Writ was continued by the later Fathers and the doctors of the school. It received a new impulse by the invention of the printing-press, by which, in a short time, an incredible number of editions of the Latin Vulgate was issued. This work was crowned by the revision and authentic edition of the Latin Vulgate and Greek Septuagint by Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. New light was thrown on the Scriptures by the monumen-

[1] 2 Tim. iii., 16, 17.

tal polyglot editions of Antwerp and Paris and by the more recent works of learned Catholic commentators, who, following in the footsteps of the Fathers, wrote profound and copious expositions of every book of the Sacred Text, and met the objections of rationalists as they came up, with arguments taken from their own favorite sciences of criticism and philology.

"Hence," the Holy Father concludes, "whoever duly considers those facts must admit that the Church has never been wanting in her care to open the fountains of the Divine Scriptures to her children in a salutary manner, and that she has always maintained and adorned by all manner of erudition, that guardianship which she has received from God for the defence and honor of the Sacred Writings; so that *she never needed, nor now needs, any incitement from outsiders.*"

Having thus briefly outlined the work achieved by the Church in Biblical studies, as an incentive to renewed effort in this noble work, and having vindicated the Church from the calumnious charge of having neglected the Scriptures, the Holy Father proceeds to the second and chief part of the Encyclical—the manner of teaching and studying the Sacred Books.

II. Here the Pope, first of all, takes into consideration the character of the enemies with whom the Bible student in our day has to contend. His contention is no longer with the Protestant, who makes the Scripture the only source of revelation, but mainly with the Rationalist, who denies the very existence of revelation, inspiration, miracles, prophecies, the historical facts and the very genuineness and trustworthiness of the Sacred Writings. Leagued with the rationalists are those who, under the specious name of science, in speech and print scatter broadcast, particularly among the youth and the common people, errors of the most pernicious kind, which tend to bring the Scriptures into contempt and ridicule.

"These are the considerations," writes the Holy Father to the bishops, "which should arouse and stimulate our common pastoral solicitude *to oppose to this new falsely so-called science the old and true science*, which the Church received from Christ through the Apostles, and to raise up well-equipped defenders of the Scriptures in such a contest."

The first care should, therefore, be the proper selection of professors of Scripture for our seminaries and universities—men of great love for, and familiarity with, the Sacred Books—while others, again, should be specially trained to take their places. As part of this preparation, His Holiness lays special stress on a *solid introduction* to the Scriptures, which should go hand in hand with *dogmatic theology* (comite et adjutrice theologia).

The most important task of the professor of Scripture is the exposition of the Sacred Text, in which he is to avoid the two extremes of excessive brevity and diffuseness. He should give a full exposition of one—or at least a portion of one—book, to serve as a specimen and a stimulus to the students. He is to take the Latin Vulgate version as the basis of his exposition, according to the decree of the Council of Trent,[1] which prescribes the use of the Vulgate as the authentic version "in all public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions," though he is to consult, also, other texts, and particularly the original Hebrew and Greek in cases of doubt. Having thus carefully examined the text, he proceeds to establish the meaning of the words from the context, from parallel passages and from the helps of varied erudition; which latter, however, he should employ with moderation and discretion.

After he has thus established the meaning, he may safely proceed to the application of the text to theological truths. Herein, lest he should err, the commentator must bear in mind the declaration of the Vatican Council, interpreting the decree of the Council of Trent, that, "in matters of faith and morals appertaining to the upbuilding of the Christian doctrine, that sense of the Scriptures is to be held as the true one which our Holy Mother, the Church, has held and holds, whose province it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Sacred Writings; and therefore no one is allowed to interpret the Scriptures contrary to this sense, or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.[2]

This restraint put on the commentator, however, leaves still a wide field for his labors in establishing the meaning of those parts (forming the bulk of the Scriptures) the sense of which is not defined, and in more precisely fixing the meaning of those that are defined, whether by the sacred writers themselves or by the Church in solemn definition or through its ordinary and universal teaching office.

Where the church has not spoken, the interpreter must follow the *analogy of faith*, taking the Catholic doctrine received by the Church as a norm from which he may not depart. Hence, every interpretation must be rejected as false which either contradicts any point of the received Catholic teaching or conflicts with the manifest teaching of other parts of the Scriptures. In order to apply this rule, the professor of Scripture must be an accomplished dogmatic theologian, and must be well versed in the fathers.

As often as the *Fathers are unanimous* in the exposition of any

[1] Sess. IV., Decr. de ed. et usu Sacr. Libror.

[2] Trid. Sess. iv., de ed. et usu Sacr. Libror.—*Vat. de Fide*, c. iii.

passage, as referring to faith and morals, their authority is supreme (summa); for such unanimity is a clear evidence of apostolic tradition. Their opinion as private doctors also is of great weight, owing to their eminent sacred learning and sanctity. The commentator, however, is free to extend his researches and expositions beyond the teaching of the Fathers, provided only he observe the canon of St. Augustine: "Not to depart from the literal and obvious sense unless reason forbids him to hold, or necessity compels him to abandon, the literal interpretation."[1]

The more recent Catholic *commentators* apart from the Fathers have also their value, and should be consulted by the student of the Scriptures. "But it is exceedingly unbecoming," says the Holy Father, "that any one should ignore or despise the excellent works left by our own commentators, and should turn with preference to the works of non-Catholics and borrow from them, to the immediate danger of sound doctrine, and not seldom to the detriment of the faith, the exposition of passages in the interpretation of which Catholic expounders have long since most fruitfully expended their talents and labors. For although the Catholic commentator may sometimes profit by the prudent use of the studies of non-Catholics, yet he should bear in mind that, even according to the numerous testimonies of the Fathers, the genuine interpretation of the Scriptures cannot by any means be found outside the Church; nor can it be taught by those who, deprived of the true faith, are unable to reach the core, but only gnaw at the crust, of the Sacred Books."[2]

Moreover, the Scriptures should be made the *chief source of theological argument*, the soul of sacred science; for although the Catholic theological tyro should be accustomed to prove and illustrate one dogma by means of another, yet "a grave theologian should not neglect the demonstration of the dogmas of faith from the authority of the Scriptures."

A no less important and difficult task of the scripturist is *the defence of the authority of the Sacred Books.* This cannot, indeed, be fully and completely achieved otherwise than *by the living, teaching authority of the Church*, which, as the Vatican Council declares, owing to her marvellous attributes, "is in herself a grand and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefragable evidence of her own divine mission."[3]

But this infallible teaching office of the Church ought first to be established on historical and apologetic grounds from the testimony of these same Sacred Books: that is, from the Scriptures taken as trustworthy historical documents, the divinity and divine mission of Christ, the institution of the Church, the primacy of St.

[1] *Gen. ad litt.*, viii., 7, 13.

[2] *Greg. Mag. Moral.*, xx, 9, al. 10.

[3] *De fide* Cath., c. 3.

Peter and his successors, are to be demonstrated. Hence it is of the greatest importance that a good number of the priesthood should be well versed in this manner of argument (apologetics) for the defence of the faith against the various fallacies of the enemy.

How are they to be thus equipped? In the first place, by a knowledge of the *art of criticism and of the original languages of the Scriptures*, which knowledge, being necessary to the professor of Scripture and becoming every theologian, should be required of ecclesiastical students, most particularly of those who aspire to academic degrees. There should be also in our universities chairs of the kindred languages and sciences, for the benefit of Scripture students. This is all the more necessary on account of the modern artifice dignified by the name of "higher criticism," which, to the great detriment of religion, pretends to solve all questions regarding the origin, integrity, and authority of the Sacred Books from what they term intrinsic reasons.

An accurate knowledge of the *natural sciences* will render good service to the student of the Scriptures in meeting the objections of those so-called scientists who leave nothing undone to undermine the authority of the sacred writers. There can be no contradiction between the theologian and the scientist, provided only they adhere to the rules of St. Augustine: (1) "Not rashly to propose as certain what is uncertain";[1] (2) "Whatever can be demonstrated by convincing arguments in the natural sciences we should endeavor to show to be reconcilable with the Scriptures; and whatever the students of nature assert in their writings, which is repugnant to our writings, that is, to the Catholic faith, let us by some argument prove, or at least without any hesitation hold, to be absolutely false."[2]

For while, on the one hand, the sacred writers used the prevailing popular expressions and views of their times, without any pretence to scientific accuracy, in things not appertaining to the salvation of man, as we ourselves speak of many natural phenomena in our daily intercourse, it very often happens, on the other hand, that theories proposed as certain by scientists are subsequently called in question and altogether rejected.

The same holds of historical facts, which seem to contradict the testimony of the sacred writers. It may have happened that the copyists erred in transcribing certain passages, which, however, is not to be assumed but proved in each case; or that a passage is in itself ambiguous; but it can never be admitted that the sacred writer has erred, since he wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; for the inspiration of the Scriptures extends not only to

[1] In Gen. Op., imperf., ix., 30.

[2] De Gen., ad. lit., i. 21, 42.

matters of faith and morals, but to the entire Scriptures and to all their parts: that is, God is the author of the whole and of all its parts. But the divine authorship necessarily excludes all error. Hence the canon of St. Augustine: "If in the Scriptures I strike any passage which seems to be irreconcilable with the truth, I shall be certain that either the manuscript is faulty or that the translator has not hit the meaning of the text, or that I am unable to understand it myself."[1]

The Sovereign Pontiff concludes his Encyclical with an exhortation to Catholic scholars to co-operate each in his own line of study towards the defence of the Scriptures and of the faith, devoting themselves to those special studies by which they may be enabled to repel the assaults of the enemy. For this end, His Holiness commends the establishment of scientific associations for the defence of revealed religion and the promotion of biblical studies, and briefly outlines the principles to be followed by those engaged in such scientific research. "They must hold faithfully that God, the Creator and Gove.nor of all things, is the author of the Scriptures; therefore, that nothing can be established from the investigation of nature, nothing from monuments of history, which stands in real contradiction with them. If any such contradiction should appear to exist, therefore, the student must labor to remove it by consulting the prudent judgment of theologians and commentators as to the truer or more probable interpretation of the sacred text, and by weighing well the force of the arguments advanced against it. Nor is the investigation to cease if some contradiction should still seem to remain, for since truth cannot by any means be opposed to truth, it is certain that some error has crept in either in the interpretation of the sacred text or in the scientific inquiry. If this error cannot be discovered on either side, judgment must in the meantime be suspended. For numerous objections from various sciences, once strongly and persistently urged against the Scriptures, have been altogether abandoned as of no weight, and, on the other hand, not a few interpretations of passages of Scripture (not properly belonging to the rule of faith and morals) have, on closer investigation, been subsequently modified. Opinions are wiped out by time, but truth remains and endures forever."

From this brief and imperfect sketch of the contents of the Encyclical, it is plain that, while its object is avowedly a practical one—the promotion of the study of the Scriptures among ecclesiastics—it forcibly reaffirms the whole Catholic teaching on the Scriptures: their nature, their inspiration and its extent, their place in revelation, the grounds of their divine authority, the authenticity of the Vulgate and Septuagint versions, the canon of interpreta-

[1] Ep., 82.

tion. Nay, we shall have occasion to see that in some important points, as in defining the extent of inspiration and the inerrancy of the sacred writers, it goes further than any previous ecclesiastical document.

PART II.

We now come to the second part of the task proposed to ourselves, the consideration of some points of doctrine in particular, which are reaffirmed in this Encyclical. In the first place, the Scriptures have been at all times looked upon as *Sacred and Divine.* It is a patent historic fact that the Jews possessed a certain definite collection of books, which was regarded as sacred oracles of divine truth. Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian, writes:[1] "With us [the Jews] there is not an indefinite number of books at variance among themselves, and contradicting one another, but only two and twenty books containing our entire history, *which are deservedly regarded as divine.*" And again: "It is self-evident with what reverence we regard our books. For although so many ages have passed, no one has ever dared to add to, or substract from, them, or to change them in aught. But every Jew has been taught from his infancy to look upon these writings as the *divine decrees*, to adhere to them, and, if necessary, to die for them." This collection went by the name of the Scriptures (writings by way of excellence); the Sacred Scriptures; the Law, the Prophets, and the Books, etc.[2]

This constant tradition of the Jews was sanctioned by Christ Himself and His Apostles. Thus our Lord exhorts the Jews: "*Search the Scriptures; for you think in them to have life everlasting;* and the same are they that give testimony of me"[3] And again: "These are the words which I spoke to you while I was with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the *Law of Moses*, and in the *Prophets*, and in the *Psalms* concerning me."[4]

It is well known how the Apostles and the Evangelists constantly refer to the Scriptures of the Old Testament in their preachings and writings. We need only read the first sermon of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost,[5] or the the address of St. Stephen before the Jewish Council,[6] to convince ourselves of the extent to which the Apostles and their contemporaries used the Sacred Writings, and of the unquestioned and unqualified authority which the Sacred Books enjoyed with the Jews. This same divine authority is emphasized by St. Paul in the words above

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[1] Ad. Appion, i., 8.
[2] Cf. Eccli., prolog.
[3] John, v., 39.
[4] Luke, xxiv., 45.
[5] Acts ii.
[6] Acts vii.

cited,[1] in which he characterizes the Scripture as a whole, as *inspired of God* (θεόπνευστος) and effectual for all the functions of the preaching of the Gospel. St. Peter[2] characterizes the Scriptures (as far at least as the Prophets are concerned) as a divine manifestation more convincing, to the Jews at least, even than the marvellous words which he himself had heard from Heaven at the transfiguration of our Lord on Mount Tabor. "We have *the more firm prophetic word;* whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light which shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts; understanding this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is made by private interpretation; for prophecy came *not by the will of man* at any time; but the holy men of God spoke, *inspired by the Holy Ghost.*"

Hence the Scriptures have always been described, in the language of the Church and the Fathers as the communications of God to man, as the divine oracles, God's epistles to man, God's word, the written word of God, etc.

That the Scriptures, therefore, contain a divine revelation, or a supernatural communication of God to man, manifesting to him the divine mind and will is certain from the Scripture itself and from the constant tradition of the Church. This truth is clearly taught by the Vatican Council,[3] when, speaking of revelation, it says: "This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church, declared by the Council of Trent, *is contained in the Scriptures* and in the unwritten traditions."

Yet the fact that the Scriptures contain a divine revelation or the word of God, or that they have been written by prophets, apostles, or other divinely commissioned envoys, does not of itself imply that these writings are *inspired.* Dogmatic decrees of the Church, creeds, catechisms, the works of the Fathers, all contain divine revelation or the word of God; yet these cannot be regarded as inspired writings. Nor is there any valid argument to prove that whatever is written by an apostle or a prophet must, by that very fact, necessarily be an inspired document.

What is it then, that constitutes a divinely *inspired* document? The fact that God Himself is the *primary author* of the document *as such,* while the human writer is only the *secondary author* or the instrument of God in the production of the work. The Vatican Council[4] puts the idea of inspiration in the clearest terms, when it declares: "These (books) the Church regards as sacred and canonical, not because they were composed by mere human industry, and subsequently approved by its authority; nor because they con-

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[1] 2 Tim., iii., 16-17.
[2] 2 Pet., i., 19-21.
[3] *De fide* Cath., c. 2.
[4] *Ibid.*

tain a revelation without error; but because, *being written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God as their author*, and *as such* have been entrusted to the Church." It is the authorship on the part of God, then, that constitutes divine inspiration—not that universal authorship whereby God is the author of all things; nor a special authorship in the sense in which God brings about certain things by a special providence; but authorship in the strict and proper sense of the word in the same sense, as any responsible writer is said to be the author of those works that bear his name.

In order that God may thus be the author of a document written by human instrumentality, it is necessary that He should exercise a certain supernatural *influence upon the intellect and will* of the writer, that the latter may conceive and design the document as intended by God and be determined, or determine himself, to its proper execution. God must also extend to him while writing the necessary *assistance* that he may not err in the execution of the divine purpose. This supernatural influence is the primary and efficient cause of the document as such. This influence and assistance may or may not interfere with the freedom of the inspired writer, according to the nature of the divine impulse, and according as the subject-matter of the inspired document requires. The secondary or human author may or may not be conscious of the supernatural action of God. All that is needed is that God so act on the mind and will of the writer both antecedently and concomitantly, that He Himself must be regarded as the efficient and efficacious cause of the document in question.

From this it is evident, on the one hand, that no subsequent approval of a written document is sufficient to make it an inspired writing, and, on the other hand, that a verbal dictation on the part of God is not required. God must be the prime originator of the document as such; and in order to be the prime originator, He can act efficaciously on the writer without dictating the words and phrases, and even without explicitly prescribing a definite line of argument, to the writer.

Such is the common opinion of orthodox theologians of the present day in regard to inspiration; and it seems to be the only view which can be reconciled with certain portions of the Scriptures, in which the inspired writers seem to assume the entire responsibility of literary authorship.[1] When, therefore, the Fathers and the Church herself say that the Scriptures are *dictated by the Holy Ghost*, the expression must be taken in a wider sense. As to the fact itself, it is manifest, even from a superficial reading of the Scriptures, that some parts, particularly in the prophets, are

[1] Cf. Luke i., 1 sq.; 2 Mach. xv., 39.

literally dictated by God, while in others the human authors seem to enjoy the greatest freedom.

However the influence of the Holy Ghost may vary in regard to the inspired authors and the different portions of the Scriptures, we must hold, in conformity with the teaching of the Scriptures themselves and from the explicit teaching of the Church, that *God is the author of the entire Scripture and of all its parts*, and that in the strict and proper sense of the word.

Christ himself and the apostles repeatedly represent God or the Holy Ghost as speaking through the Scriptures or through the mouth of the inspired writers.[1] Again, they represent the inspired writers as speaking in the Holy Ghost,[2] and the Scripture itself is sometimes personified as the divine voice.[3] We have seen that St. Paul[4] expressly calls the Scriptures *inspired*, and extends this inspiration not only to dogmatic parts, but to the whole Scripture without distinction, whether it serves to teach, to rebuke, to correct or to instruct. And St. Peter assures us that the holy men of God—the sacred authors, the prophets in the first instance—spoke *inspired by the Holy Ghost*.[5] The Council of Florence[6] declares that "one and the same *God is the author* of the Old and the New Testament, that is, of the Law, the Prophets and the Gospel, since *inspired by one and the same Holy Ghost* the saints of both testaments have spoken." The same doctrine is taught by the Council of Trent,[7] which, moreover, declares that "*the entire books with all their parts* . . . . as contained in the ancient Latin Vulgate edition are to be received as sacred and canonical." But the Vatican Council, adhering to the constant tradition of the Church, puts an end to all doubt by defining not only that "the books of the Old and the New Testament *in their entirety and in all* their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the Council of Trent and contained in the Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical"; but also that "the Church regards them as sacred and canonical . . . . because, *being written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God as their author* and *as such* have been entrusted to the Church."

These truths regarding the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, extending to the entire canon of the Council of Trent and to all its parts, we find reaffirmed by Leo XIII. in the introduction to the Encyclical. This he made, as it were, his starting point. On these points of doctrine all Catholic theologians were substantially in agreement.

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[1] Cf. Acts i., 16.
[2] Matt. xxii., 23.
[3] Gal. iii., 8.
[4] 2 Tim. iii., 16.
[5] 2 Pet. i., 21.
[6] Decr. pro Jacobit, 1.
[7] Sess. iv., decr. de canon. Script.

Yet some Catholic writers were inclined to limit the inspiration of the Scriptures from another aspect. They admitted all that had been defined by the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican—the divine inspiration extending to all the books of the Tridentine canon taken in their entirety and in their detailed parts; but by parts they would have us understand only those portions that appertain to *faith and morals* or to the "upbuilding of the Christian doctrine." For such parts only they vindicated divine inspiration. With portions of the Scriptures not appertaining to faith and morals they thought the Holy Ghost had nothing to do. The human writers alone were responsible for such parts. Consequently the latter were free to err in all historic and scientific facts and statements not regarding faith or morals.[1]

This would certainly be a very convenient theory of inspiration, if it could be sustained. But here we stand confronted with the declaration of the Church that God is the author of the Sacred Books in their entirety and of all their parts in detail. The Councils make no distinction between part and part. God is the author of each part, and is, therefore, responsible for the truth of each fact or statement, as it proceded from the pen of the inspired writer. The Councils, it is true, make a distinction between things pertaining and things not pertaining to faith and morals, but nowhere does this distinction apply to the fact of inspiration itself, but only to the interpretation of the Scriptures or to the traditions of the Church or the extent of the Church's teaching-office.

No reason can be adduced, therefore, for restricting the inspiration of the Scripture to matters of faith and morals. On the contrary, it seems rather unbecoming, not to say utterly inconsistent with, the wisdom, goodness and truthfulness of God that He should withhold His assistance from His inspired instrument as often as there is question only of natural truths, that have no bearing upon faith and morals. This certainly would greatly lessen the authority of God's word, expose the inspired writer to the contempt of the learned of this world and be a prolific source of error not only in the natural order, but, if pushed to its ultimate consequences, also in faith. For who can assign the line of demarcation in the Scriptures between matters of faith and morals and merely natural truths? Hence we find that the Holy Fathers were most solicitous to reconcile apparent contradictions, even of the most trivial nature in the Scriptures, convinced as they were of the absolute inerrancy of the sacred writers, also in matters not pertaining to faith and morals. Hence the inviolable canon of St. Augustine: "If in the Scriptures we should meet any error, *we*

[1] Cf. Schanz Apology, Engl. Trans., vol. ii., p. 432.

are not permitted to say: The author has not attained to the truth; but: Either the manuscript is faulty, or the translator has erred, or thou dost not understand it."[1]

And, in fact, it was always admitted as a self-evident theological principle, at least by orthodox theologians, that whatever is contained in the Scriptures—*e.g.*, "Abraham begot Isaac," "[Judas] hanged himself with a halter"—is an object of divine faith. But whatever is an object of divine faith is the word of God. Consequently, according to the universal belief of the theologians of the past, each part of the Scriptures is God's word. But many parts—nay, most parts—of the Scriptures can be the word of God only by inspiration, since they are not direct revelations of God. Hence, it must be concluded that such parts of the Scriptures are inspired. Now, these are the very parts of which there is question—historical facts, daily occurrences, natural truths, incidental remarks and statements, etc. Therefore, if we would not infringe upon one of the first principles of sound theology, we are forced to admit that the Scripture is inspired not only in its entirety, but also in its minor details, though they may have no bearing on faith and morals.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that the more conservative schools of theology expressed themselves as directly opposed to the theory of the *obiter dicta*, which left the sacred writers free to err in certain minor details not pertaining to faith and morals, and that they regarded such doctrines as fraught with dangerous consequences for the integrity of the Scriptures.

A modern French writer does not seem to us to put it too strongly when he says: "We cannot disguise from ourselves that the new opinion, which limits inspiration and freedom from error merely to those passages of Scripture which concern faith and morals, has lately made rapid strides. Even in many French Seminaries it is taught as a probable opinion, and the conclusion is drawn that the historical books—*e. g.*, Kings, Paralipomenon, Judges, etc.—may be inspired and free from error only in their dogmatic and moral parts! *In this case we shall soon have to suppress two-thirds of the Bible.*"[2] Nor was the new theory confined to France. In a mild form it found ardent defenders in Italy and in England as well; and we have reason to think that it was fast gaining popularity with individuals, if not with schools, in the United States. The present Encyclical of the Pope ought to terminate the controversy, and put a quietus on the *obiter dicta* theory. Leo XIII. rejects it in the most unmistakable terms. "It would be altogether wrong," writes the Sovereign Pontiff, "*to restrict the inspiration to some parts* of the Scriptures, or *to allow that the sacred writer has erred.* For the method of those *is not to be tolerated*, who endeavor to extricate themselves from difficulties by conceding that *the inspiration*

[1] In Ps. Serm., 118.

[2] See Schanz, *Apol.*, vol. ii., p. 433.

extends, indeed, to matters of faith and morals, but no farther. . . . For all those books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, *in their entirety and in their parts*, have been written at the dictation of the Holy Ghost. But divine inspiration, far from being compatible with any error, of its very nature not only *excludes every error*, but excludes and rejects it with that self-same necessity in virtue of which God, the Supreme Truth, cannot be the author of any error whatsoever."

The Pope then goes on to confirm this statement by the constant tradition of the Church and the decrees of the Councils of Florence and Trent, which have been reaffirmed and brought out with greater precision by the Vatican; and he concludes thus: "Wherefore it matters nothing at all that the Holy Ghost has taken men as His instruments to write, as though some error might escape, not, indeed, the primary author, but the inspired authors. For by His supernatural action He so incited and moved them that they rightly conceived in their minds, had the will faithfully to indite, *and expressed aptly and with infallible truthfulness all those things—and those things only—which He commanded them to write; else God would not be the author of the entire Scripture.*"[1]

After all we have heard and read, then, of "advanced thought" and "higher criticism," and the "rejuvenation of the sacred sciences," and the nebulous "zeitgeist," and the spirit and progress of "the age," we have to fall back finally on the trite canon of St. Augustine: Some one has blundered, but not the sacred writer; it may be the copyist, or it may be the translator, or it may be our own limited capacity that is at fault; but we must in all cases save the inerrancy of the Holy Ghost and of His living inspired instrument.

This point concerning the extent of inspiration was one on which we all desired the judgment of the Holy Father. We have received it in the most unambiguous language. It is just what all sound and sober theologians anticipated, but the very reverse of the programme outlined for the Holy Father by the would-be representatives of "the age."

Another kindred subject on which information was eagerly looked for was the Pope's attitude toward "*advanced criticism.*" But what must have been the disappointment of "the age" to find that "the Church" showed such scant appreciation of this, its cherished science?

Now, what is the Pope's mind on the new fad of so-called "higher

[1] It is hardly necessary to add that this inerrancy belongs only to those statements and truths which are advanced on the authority of God and of the sacred writers. Statements made by others may be true or false in themselves; but it is infallibly certain that they have been truly reported by the sacred writers. Some statements made on the authority of God or of the sacred writers may be only *relatively* true, as is the case in human speech generally, as for instance, when we speak of the rising and setting sun, and of its diurnal course.

critiicism?" There is certainly a higher criticism for which the Pope has the highest possible appreciation. It is that broad criticism which is based, not on gratuitous assumptions, arbitrary rules and philological subtleties, but on a thorough knowledge of philosophy and dogmatic theology, on familiarity with the original languages of the Scriptures and of the cognate idioms, on history, ethnology, archæology and profound scientific research. To this kind of higher criticism His Holiness earnestly exhorts the scripturist and the student of the sacred sciences generally. But for the higher criticism of "the age," which is based only on grammatical subtleties and philological hair-splitting, the Pope has little use. He writes:

"Without reason, and to the detriment of religion, has been introduced an artifice called by the specious name of higher criticism, according to which the origin, genuineness and authority of each book are wont to be decided from so-called intrinsic reasons. On the contrary, it is manifest that in questions of an historical nature, such as that of the origin and the preservation of the sacred books, the evidences of history are paramount and are to be most carefully explored and examined; that, on the other hand, those intrinsic reasons are not of such weight that they should be brought to bear on the matter except as subsidiary evidence. Else great inconveniences are certain to follow. For the enemies shall then gain greater confidence in attacking and discrediting the authenticity of the Sacred Books. That which they laud as higher criticism will finally lead to this, that each one will follow his own whims and prejudices in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Hence, no light will be thrown on Holy Writ, no benefit will accrue to science; but that wide diversity of opinion which is the index of error will prevail, as the leaders of this novel science give ample evidence. Moreover, since most of its advocates are imbued with the doctrines of false philosophy and rationalism, they will not shrink from eliminating from the Sacred Books prophecies, miracles and whatever else there is of a supernatural character." These are the well-weighed words of the great Pontiff of "the age" on "the age's" youngest and dearest offspring.

Another point on which the theologian of "the age" would naturally look for an innovation from the progressive spirit of Leo XIII. is the use of the *Latin Vulgate*. This version of the Scriptures had been declared authentic by the Council of Trent.[1] The Sacred Synod "decrees and declares that that same ancient and vulgate edition, which has been sanctioned by the continued use of ages in the Church, is to be regarded as authentic in public lectures, disputations and sermons, and that no one shall dare or presume to reject it."

[1] Decr. de ed. et usu., *V. Libror.*

From this declaration, according to the common opinion of theologians, it follows that the Latin Vulgate is a faithful rendering of the original Scriptures—at least as far as dogmatic texts are concerned—so that no dogma contained in the original text is substantially changed or modified, or not sufficiently expressed, in this version. This may be directly inferred from the fact that the Vulgate version was from the very beginning in constant use in the Church, to whose infallible keeping the Scriptures, as well as the unwritten traditions, have been entrusted. The decree does not exclude accidental modifications, slight interpolations, etc., as every theologian knows.

Yet this declaration of the Council of Trent was an eye-sore to "higher critics," who considered themselves the divinely constituted custodians, or rather restorers and demolishers, of the Sacred text. A departure from it would have been, in their eyes, a consummation devoutly to be wished. Leo XIII., however, far from making any innovation on this point, enforces anew the decree of Trent, while at the same time he earnestly invites and exhorts the Scripture student, in cases of doubt, to have recourse to the original texts. "Let him" [the professor of Scripture], he says, "adhering to the customs of our ancestors, take [in his expositions] for his text the Vulgate version, which the Council of Trent decreed should be regarded as authentic in public lectures, disputations and sermons, and which is commended by the daily use of the Church."

A few words on the *universal canon of interpretation* of the Scriptures. On this point the Council of Trent issued the following decree: "For the restraint of audacious minds, the Sacred Council decrees that no one, relying on his own prudence, in matters of faith and morals pertaining to the upbuilding of the Christian doctrine, distorting the Scriptures to his own opinions, dare interpret the same Scriptures contrary to the meaning that our Holy Mother, the Church, held and holds, whose province it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of the Scriptures, or also contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

The general rule to be followed in the interpretation of the Scriptures is, therefore, *the authority of the Church and the unanimous consent of the Fathers.* If, then, the meaning of a text is defined by the Church, as in the case of the words: This is my body, etc.,[3] the interpreter must defend that meaning; but if the meaning of the text is not defined, he must not give any exposition which would conflict with any point of the Church's teaching; and the same rule holds in regard to the unanimous teaching of the Fathers in matters of faith and morals.

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[1] Trid. Sess., xiii., c. 1.

Lest any one should think that this was a mere disciplinary rule, which prescribed only a certain line of conduct to the commentator, the Vatican Council[1] declared that "in matters of faith and morals pertaining to the upbuilding of the Christian doctrine, *that is to be regarded the true meaning of the Scripture which our Holy Mother, the Church, held and holds*, ... and *therefore* no one is allowed to interpret the Scripture contrary to this sense or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

Leo XIII. is still more explicit on this point. After reaffirming the teaching of Trent and of the Vatican, he concludes: "Wherefore it should be the chief and inviolable rule with the interpreter in regard to those texts the meaning of which has been authentically declared either by the sacred writers themselves, through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost—as is the case in many passages of the New Testament—or by the Church through the assistance of the same Holy Ghost, *whether in solemn definition or by means of her ordinary and universal teaching-office*, to give the same interpretation, and from the resources of his science to prove that such interpretation alone can be sustained in accordance with the sound laws of hermeneutics. In other texts he must follow the *analogy of faith*, and the Catholic doctrine as received by the Church is to be employed as the supreme rule."

Besides the *two chief criteria* contained in the previous declarations of the Church—viz., the teaching of the Church and the unanimous consent of the fathers—the Pope here lays special stress on three other criteria, which, however, might easily be reduced to the other two. These are: the authentic declaration of the inspired writers themselves, the ordinary and universal teaching of the Church, and the analogy of faith.

The first of these criteria was always practically admitted and followed by orthodox commentators as a self-evident rule. It follows directly from the infallibility of the sacred writers. If, therefore, any text of the Old Testament is authentically explained by any of the sacred writers of the New Testament, that same interpretation is to be defended as the true one, so far as it goes, though this interpretation may not, by any means, exhaust the contents of the text. If, for instance, certain passages of the Psalms or Prophecies are quoted by the inspired writers of the New Testament as bearing on the Messias, these passages are infallibly Messianic, either directly or indirectly, and no commentator is free to deny their Messianic character. He is free, and it is his task as a commentator, to explain the extent and manner of their Messianic character; but he cannot explain it away without failing against the first rule of sound hermeneutics.

[1] *De Fide Cath.*, c. 2.

The second criterion on which the Pope lays special stress is the *ordinary and universal teaching-office* of the Church. This criterion is in itself nowise different from that proposed by the Council of Trent as *the teaching Our Holy Mother the Church.* But it was necessary to bring it out more explicitly to meet the objections of those mimimizers who declare themselves ready to receive all that is solemnly defined by an Œcumenical Council or by the Pope *ex-cathedra*, but assert that in all else they are free to follow their own judgment—who scout the ordinary teaching of the Church and the *consensus* of Catholic schools under the direct supervision of the Church. A careful reading of the Vatican Council might have taught those minimizers better. In the third chapter *de fide cath.* the Council declares expressly: "By divine and Catholic faith all those truths are to be believed which are contained in the written or unwritten word of God and are proposed to our belief as divinely revealed by the Church *whether in solemn definition* or THROUGH ITS ORDINARY AND UNIVERSAL TEACHING-OFFICE."

The *ordinary and universal* teaching of the Church, therefore, whether immediately through the bishops, the judges of the faith, dispersed throughout the entire world, or through those who preach and teach and write under their immediate supervision, is a criterion which may not be overlooked by the interpreter of the Scriptures, but must needs command his unqualified assent. It is needless to add that the infallibility and consequent binding force of this universal teaching of the Church, as of the universal teaching of the Fathers, extend only to matters of faith and morals.

The *analogy of faith* and Christian doctrine is the third criterion which the Pope urges as the Supreme rule to be followed in all those cases in which there is no authentic interpretation either by the Scriptures themselves or by the Church and no consent of the Fathers. It is a negative criterion forbidding the commentator to interpret any passage of the Scriptures in such a way as to conflict with any other passage, or with any other truth contained in the Scriptures, or proposed by the Church, or universally taught and believed by her. The necessity of this rule is as manifest as is the truth that God cannot contradict himself.

But this criterion of the analogy of faith, from the very force of the term, seems to demand something more of the interpreter—namely, that in doubtful passages he should lean more towards that meaning which seems best to harmonize with the defined doctrines of the Church and the received truths of the Catholic faith. Hence it is that the Pope requires that the interpreter of the Scriptures should be a theologian of more than ordinary attainments (omnem theologiam egregie teneat), and that he should be conversant with the works of the Fathers. The interpreter should, in short, follow

the example of the Fathers, "who sought the right understanding of the divine Scriptures not from their own preconceived views but from the writings and the authority of their elders, who, it was evident, on their part had received the rule of interpretation from apostolic tradition."[1]

We would fain have dwelt at greater length on these and kindred salient points of the present Encyclical, but we feel that we are trespassing on the valuable space of this REVIEW. We hope, however, to have contributed something towards the better understanding and appreciation of this magnificent document and of the Holy Fathers' intent in giving it to the public.

In it we find no new departure, as was expected in some quarters, no deviation from the traditions of the Church, no connivance at the spirit of "the age," no compromise with liberalism or rationalism, no "toleration" of erroneous or misleading tenets, however specious or "advanced." In doctrine it is, as every such document must be, most conservative. There is nothing in it but the natural development of the traditional teaching of the Church on the Scriptures. Any additions to the doctrines already defined, as we have seen, are only the logical outgrowth of those doctrines.

While conservative in doctrine, it is most progressive in its practical recommendations and enforcements. Yet it contains nothing that is startling to the theologian; it enforces or recommends nothing that was not already in use in our better equipped ecclesiastical institutions throughout the Church. It is only an effort to make this more thorough and extensive study of the Scriptures universal in our theological schools, and to do away, as far as possible, with superficiality in Bible studies, which, now more than ever, is dangerous. Certainly, if anywhere, here "a little learning is a dangerous thing," especially if this little is drawn from tainted sources. Hence the Pope insists so strongly on due preparation—especially a solid *Introduction* and a thorough and extensive theological course—before launching on the troubled sea of "higher criticism." Otherwise the student will steer without compass or rudder.

In reading this Encyclical, we cannot but admire the wisdom and tact, or rather the unction of the Holy Ghost, which characterizes all its utterances. It is a fact which we cannot conceal from ourselves—though we do think that it has been somewhat exaggerated—that, within the Church, there have been not a few who entertained, at least under the form of hypotheses, somewhat liberal views on the Scriptures—regarding the authenticity of some of the sacred books, the nature and extent of inspiration, the interpretation of certain passages bearing on the creation of the universe, the origin of man, the deluge, etc. Now, instead of collecting to-

[1] Rufin., Hist., Eccl. ii., 9.

gether and condemning what was false or dangerous or misleading in these views, and thus humbling our "advanced" scholars, and, perhaps, in some instances, retarding the progress of otherwise useful investigation, his Holiness sums up the general principles on the study and interpretation of the Scriptures, and shows clearly what is false and untenable, without noting any individual; so that he who runs may read, and every scientist and critic may, if so he pleases, gauge the legitimacy and conclusiveness of his own investigations. This conduct of the successor of St. Peter is evidently the result of the sweet and efficacious workings of the spirit that "breatheth where He will, and thou hearest his voice; and thou knowest not whence He cometh, or whither He goeth."[1]

That same spirit that "reaches from end to end mightily, and disposes all things sweetly," will doubtless accompany the Pope's message to the ends of the earth, and will enlighten the minds and inflame the hearts of teachers and students to a true understanding and right appreciation of God's Written Word. They will approach the study of the sacred text, not in the spirit of arrogance and pride, but in the spirit of reverence and true Christian humility. They will not allow themselves to be captured and carried away by the specious but often delusive phrases of "higher criticism," "advanced views," "the critical spirit of the age," and such-like verbiage. We shall have less of the chaff and more of the genuine wheat of God's word.

It is this spirit of humility, reverence, and childlike devotion to the word of God, combined with the solid studies outlined by Leo XIII., that will ensure the true progress of scripturistic science. "For," as the Holy Father assures us, "the understanding of the scriptures will not be revealed in a salutary manner, as it should be, unless the arrogance of *earthly* science is removed, and the desire of that wisdom *which is from on high* is awakened in the soul. And the mind, once imbued with this wisdom, and enlightened and strengthened by it, will have a marvellous power also of detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, of gathering its solid fruits, and directing them to their eternal ends. And thus, most ardently inflamed, the soul will aspire with greater zeal to the treasures of virtue and divine love. Blessed are they that search His testimonies, that seek Him with their whole heart."[2]

Such is, in brief, the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, teeming with practical wisdom of the most far-reaching character, and shedding copious light on the most important questions underlying our faith and the entire structure of our religion. And from this point of view we do not hesitate to pronounce it the most important document issued by our glorious Pontiff, Leo XIII.

JAMES CONWAY, S.J.

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[1] John, iii., 8. [2] Ps. 118, 2.

In Memoriam

GEORGE DERING WOLFF, A.M., LL.D.

On the 29th of January of this year the American Catholic Quarterly Review was, by the death of Dr. Wolff, bereft of the last surviving member of its original corps of editors. The intelligence of the decease of this able journalist has called forth tender expressions of regret from the Catholic learned world, not only in America but also in Europe, which form a consoling evidence of the esteem he enjoyed, not alone by reason of his great intellectual gifts, but yet more by his unfailing courtesy towards all with whom his literary career brought him in contact.

Dr. Wolff was born in Martinsburg, West Virginia, August 25, 1822. His father, Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, D.D., was a prominent clergyman of the German Reformed Church, and his mother was a woman of rare worth and intelligence. No pains were spared to impart to the bright youth the completest education which the times could afford. After being graduated at Marshall College, he devoted three years to the study of law; but shortly after his admission to the bar, he resolved to enter the ministry of his Church. After four years of theological studies, he began to exercise the ministry, and on account of his scholarly attainments, unblemished life and manly eloquence, attracted general attention and received many important "calls." Gradually, however, his faith in the fundamental basis of Protestantism was weakened, and following the inspirations of grace, overcoming very formidable obstacles, he was led into the bosom of Christ's one true Fold. A few weeks after his reception into the Church, he took editorial charge of the *Catholic Standard*, and in 1876, in conjunction with the late lamented Bishop O'Conner and the illustrious Mgr. Corcoran, founded the present Review. The names of this renowned trio made the venture an assured success from the first issue.

Of Dr. Wolffs literary ability it is needless to speak; for he was recognized as standing in the front rank of American journalists. Now that his long career has been closed by a happy death, it is sweeter to recall those gentler and less brilliant virtues which endure beyond the grave—his profound humility, his truly edifying piety, his tender regard for the feelings of others, and his steadfast devotion to the cause of holy religion.

MAY HE REST IN PEACE.

Scientific Chronicle.

SALT AND ITS MANUFACTURE.

"*He is come to me and prings me pread and salt yesterday, look you, and pid me eat my leek.*"—HENRY V.

As this is a rather dry subject, it may be well to enliven it somewhat by indulging in a little etymology.

Derivation of the Word.—Whence comes our English word, *Salt?* To answer this we must take a long look backwards, for, the thing itself has, without doubt, been known and used by mortals ever since the days of Adam and Eve.

Now, although the Hebrew may not be the most ancient language of the world, still its authentic records can lay claim to a pretty venerable antiquity, and, perchance, in it the root of our English word may be found.

In rummaging, then, through the cobwebs of the dusty past, we light on the Hebrew word, *melach*, or *melakh*, which the learned tell us means *salt*. This does not look very promising; on the contrary, it looks very unpromising; and when we have gazed for a few days, or perhaps weeks, on that juxtaposition of letters, *m-e-l-a-kh*, we feel saddened, and begin to think that it would be the forlornest of all forlorn hopes to expect to find any *s-a-l-t* in that combination. The two words have only two letters in common, and even their order is reversed, while the *s* and *t* of the one are unaccounted for, and the *m* the *e* and the *kh* of the other are in our way.

But let us not lose courage. An ancient delver for roots, slightly discouraged, probably, once remarked, "In this business of derivations, consonants seem to count for very little, and vowels for nothing at all." If we adopt this rule, we shall have no difficulty in deriving *salt* from *melakh*, or, if needs be, from *shibboleth*, or from anything we please.

Modern etymologists, however, are more exacting, and have adopted a much more straightened rule, viz., "In derivations, consonants count for a great deal, and vowels are very important." If we go by this rule, we shall have reluctantly to abandon the Hebrew, and its *melakh*, and probably also every other Semitic tongue, and look elsewhere.

Let us try an Aryan one. Our old friend, Sanskrit, is generally pretty obliging when you once manage to get around him and draw him out. Referring, then, to Sanskrit, we find for *salt* the word *sara*, which already begins to look somewhat saltish. But this *sara* has another meaning, viz., *curds*, as of milk, or, more radically and more literally still, "that *which flows*," from *sri, to go*, and this again from the still more ancient Aryan root, SAR, *to go, to glide, to flow*, leading us back, in all probability, to the "water" from which salt was obtained.[1]

[1] Strangely, or, perhaps one might say, naturally enough, "*serpent*," has wiggled

However, we can hardly afford to fancy that we are quite out of the woods yet, for "consonants count for a great deal," and so two evident difficulties rise up in the way of getting *salt* from *sara*, first the *l*, and secondly, the *t*.

But, we must not forget, if, indeed, we ever knew it, that the Aryan root, SAL, meant about the same thing as SAR, *to go, to flow, to hasten, to spring forward* (all predicable of water); hence, in Latin, we have *salire, to leap, ... sal-tare, to dance, ...* which are predicated of water as well as of men, and women, and frogs. This ought to settle the *l* difficulty to the satisfaction of even the most fastidious.

The *t* edged its way in as follows: The very ancient Aryan suffix *ta* is a sign of the past participle, so that *sal-ta* would mean *salt-ed*, and *sal-ta* is said to be the very earliest Teutonic form of the word, which, however, was used both as a noun and as a participle or adjective. In getting down to us, the final *a* got knocked off by some accident, probably through the carelessness of some etymological baggage-slinger, so that instead of *salta* we received only plain *salt*.

The *l* and the *t* of our *salt* being accounted for, we begin to feel refreshed; but no, another obstacle now presents itself. The Old-Anglo Saxon, through which we undoubtedly received the word, spelt it *s-e-a-l-t*, and our good steed, Philology, seems inclined to balk once more. But he shall not be allowed to do so, for we know that those same Old-Anglo-Saxons had a trick of sometimes putting in an *e* for which we do not seem to have any use; thus, our English word *hall* was with them *heall*, *halt* was *healt*, *malt* was *mealt*, *stall* was *steall*, *gall* was *gealla*, and so of many others. Now, as we dropped the *e* in these cases without remorse, so did we drop it from *seait* without scruple.

In the Gothic, Old-Saxon, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and Frisian, the spelling is the same as with us. The Low German had first *salt*, and later *solt*, from which, possibly, we took our present pronunciation of the word. The Scandinavian word is *sallte*, the old Dutch is *sout*, the modern Dutch *zout*, both of which look queer enough, but they can be proved to be perfectly legitimate; while the Germans with characteristic tenacity have stuck to *salz*, from old to modern, from first to last, through thick and thin. There are few words, perhaps, in which so strong a family resemblance runs through so many languages; but the end is not even yet.

The Greek gives us ἅλς (*hals*), and this encountering of an *h* for an *s* might, perchance, make us fear that we were getting off the scent; but, by brushing up our classics just a bit, we may possibly recall the fact that *h*, in Greek, not unfrequently has the force of *s*. Thus, ἁζω (*hazo, I consecrate*), is equal to the Latin *sacro;* ἅγιος (*hagios, holy*) to *sanctus;* ἅλλομαι (*hallomai, I leap*) to *salio;* and this brings us back to old SAL again.

But a more familiar example is the Greek prefix, ἡμι (*hemi, half*)

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down the same path. It is referred to the Aryan root SARP, which is only an extension of SAR, and hence "*sarpent*" has at least as good a footing, etymologically, as "*serpent.*"

which is *semi* in Latin. With our usual impartiality, we employ both forms in English, as, *hemi-sphere*, *semi circle*, etc. The *h* appears also in the Welsh word for salt, which is *hal*, *halen*, or *hallt;* also, in the Cornish and Armorican, *halinn*, *halen*. May not this be taken as an indication that these languages have their word directly from the Greek, or, the Greek its word from them? Be this as it may, the difference between *h* and *s* is not very great, the one being an "audible breathing," the other a "sibilant," or hissing sound.

Coming now to the Latin, we find *sal* (without its *t*) and this would incline us to think that it came directly from headquarters, without passing through the Teutonic form. The same *sal* seems to satisfy all the demands of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal tongues. In Italian, it is *sale;* in French, *sel;* in Servian and Polish, *sol;* in Bohemian, *sul;* in Russian and old Bulgarian, *soli*, or *soly;* in Gaelic and Irish, *salann*, or *salan*. This subject is by no means exhausted, and much more might be added, but we think we have said enough to satisfy the present cravings of most of our non-etymological readers.

Figurative Meanings of "Salt."—Whatever its form, the word which means *salt* has been used in many figurative senses in every language, probably, under the sun. With the Greeks, the word, in its literal sense, was of the masculine gender, but when used to mean the sea "the blue lone sea," they then, with the graceful instinct of poetry, made it feminine; the Romans, less ethereal in their poetic feeling, left it masculine, or even neuter.

Salt preserves from corruption, and hence it was used to signify "freedom from guilt," in the sacrifices of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews. Both in the active and the passive sense, Christ could say to his apostles, "Ye are the salt of the earth," as if he had said—ye are pure and innocent, and your office is to make the world pure and innocent, and to keep it so.

Salt was put into the coffin in ancient times, to drive the devil away, because Satan hates incorruption and immortality, of which salt is a sign.

Salt is the symbol of "wisdom," and as such is used in the solemn administration of baptism, because true wisdom preserves the soul from all taint of sin.

Salt gives taste, flavor, pungency, to what without it would be insipid, and is therefore the emblem of "wit." "Wit is the salt of conversation, not the food," says Hazlitt. Attic salt means Attic wit, but Byron is speaking sarcastically when he says: "A turn for punning, call it Attic salt." Shelley, in a sadder vein, has:

> "Ocean of time, whose waters of deep woe
> Are brackish with the salt of human tears."

To take a statement "with a grain of salt," means to take it with some reserve; for, as salt is used sparingly, so in an exaggerated story, the proportion of truth will probably be very small.

"He cannot earn (or, he isn't worth) salt for his porridge," means that he is a very poor workman, or a very lazy one.

Way down in Old Kentucky, there is a stream whose waters are quite salt, whence its name "Salt River." It is awfully crooked, and is full of shoals and snags. Hence, "to row up Salt River," has become a proverbial expression for any very difficult task. In politics, the defeated party is said to have gone "to row up Salt River." The salt has nothing to do with the matter here—unless, perhaps, the under-meaning may be, that they are gone to learn "wisdom."

An experienced sailor is often, quite naturally, called an "Old Salt," but the figure fails badly when it is applied, as we heard it at the Columbian Fair, to an ancient deck-hand of a steamboat on the *fresh* waters of Lake Michigan.

In olden times, among the high-born, the "salt-cellar" was an important piece of table-ware. It was quite large, and highly ornamental; it was made of silver, or even of gold, and stood at the very centre of the long table. To "sit above the salt," then meant to be near the head of the table, in an honorable place; while, "below the salt," meant a less honorable position; and these phrases, of course, came to be used figuratively in other cases. Scores of other applications may be found scattered like salt through all literature, and it would take more than a book to do anything like justice to them all; but, happily for our readers, we have renounced the idea of writing a book.

The Word "Salt" among the Chemists.—What we have said, so far, has been in reference to what is usually known as salt, such as we have in every-day use. The alchemists, who, much as they have been abused, were the real fathers of chemistry, as well as the old chemists themselves, down, say to the end of the eighteenth century, gave a much more extended meaning to the word—a meaning so extended that it is very hard, not to say impossible, to find out just what they did and what they did not comprehend under the term. Their ideas about the composition of bodies were all wrong, and hence their wild assertions, and wilder guessings, and still wilder longings after the impossible "Elixir of Life," and "Philosopher's Stone."

The chemists of the last hundred years have acquired a vast store of positive knowledge concerning the composition of bodies, which stands them in good stead. Nevertheless, they, too, have had a hard struggle with this word *salt*, in its wider sense; and even to-day the result is not quite as satisfactory as one might desire. To get at a definition, we have to go about the business indirectly, by backing in, as it were, and facing right about afterwards. Thus, all acids, however much they differ otherwise, have at least two properties in common; first, they all are hydrogen-compounds; and secondly, they all have the power to change certain vegetable colors from blue to red; and by these properties we can always recognize them. Now, when the hydrogen of an acid is replaced, wholly or in part, by a metal, or by a metallic radical,[1] the result

[1] By "metallic radical" is meant the union of a metal with a non-metal, but not in the proportion which will satisfy all the combining power of each; and by means of that portion of the combining power left unsatisfied the group may act as if it were a simple "element."

is a "salt," as understood by chemists. True, there are several other ways of getting at it, but the result is always the same; and as all the thousands of chemical salts known may be made in this way, at least on paper, that is enough to justify the deffnition: "A salt is a compound that is, or that may be, formed by replacing (wholly or in part) the hydrogen of an acid by a metal or a metallic radical."

We know well that what we have said is absurdly inadequate to a full understanding of this matter; scores of pages would be required for even an elementary explanation of the subject; but as that would be intolerably long to the non-technical reader, and as, besides, this REVIEW is not a text-book of chemistry, we have concluded to call a halt on this point, and pass on to other aspects of the subject.

The word *salts* (in the plural) is used, especially by druggists, for some of the more common chemical salts used in medicine, as Epsom salts, Glauber's salts, Rochelle salts, smelling-salts, etc., but these we also pass, in order to get back again to our real, old *salt* salt, and, in what follows, we propose to stick to it as long as it sticks to us.

Common Salt—Its Composition.—This substance conforms to the definition given above. We have an acid called "hydrochloric acid," but which druggists persist in calling "muriatic." It is a compound of the colorless gas, hydrogen, with the greenish-yellow gas, chlorine. In chemical short-hand, it is written HCl. Now, if we replace the hydrogen of hydrochloric acid by the soft, silver-white metal sodium, we have common salt, of which about 39 per cent. by weight is sodium, and 61 per cent. chlorine. Natrium is the Latin word for sodium, and so the chemist writes it, NaCl, and pronounces it, "sodium chloride."

Properties of Sodium Chloride (*Common Salt*).—However necessary or useful it may be, for some special purposes, to draw fine lines of distinction between the chemical and physical properties of substances, it is hardly worth while to do so here, and we shall take them up without particular regard to classification.

Some substances are more soluble in cold water than in hot, as, for instance, common lime; others are more soluble in hot water than in cold, as sugar; for others, again, it makes but little difference whether the water be cold or hot—this is practically the case with salt. Thus, one gallon of water, at 32° Fahrenheit, will dissolve about 8 pounds of sugar, while at a boiling temperature it will dissolve any amount. At 32°, one gallon of water will dissolve 2.8 pounds of salt, and at its boiling temperature only 3.2 pounds. The difference, therefore, between its solubility in hot and in cold water is relatively slight, and this fact affords a practical means of separating salt from several other substances usually found associated with it.

When a solution of salt is allowed to evaporate, the salt reappears in the solid state, but it does so according to law and order; that is, it crystallizes, the crystals being in the form of cubes. The crystallization begins by the formation of a tiny cube of solid salt at some point on the surface of the liquid. Although that cube has at least twice the specific gravity of the liquid, it does not fall to the bottom, but is held

up by what is called *surface tension.* This means that the uppermost layer of the liquid is so much stronger than the layers beneath, that it is not broken by the weight of that little crystal. It yields, however, or stretches a little, and a slight depression is thus formed, in which the new-born crystal nestles in perfect safety. Its upper edges are slightly below the general surface of the surrounding liquid, which surface, at this point, is curved down to these edges all around. At the line of junction between this crystal and the surface of the liquid, other crystals immediately form, and solder themselves to it, as a body-guard. We have thus the beginning of a square, hollow, inverted pyramid, floating with its apex downward and its base upward, and supported by *surface tension,* just as in the case of the single cube which had served as a nest-egg. A new row of crystals now forms around the upper, outer edges of the last row, and so the whole structure grows wider and wider, and reaches down deeper and deeper, the walls still growing thicker, till at length the weight becomes too great for the strength of the surface film, and the pretty little crystal-boat breaks from its delicate moorings and sinks to rest in a crystal grave. No, not to rest, for the action once started still goes on, even beneath the wave. In the meantime, other crystals have been forming at other points of the surface, and, if the evaporation be fairly rapid, they may unite together and fall in confused masses, but always distinctly crystalline. And so the action keeps on, above and below, until all the liquid is gone, and there remains but the solid salt.

Ages ago, such operations took place on a grand scale. Enclosed seas of salt water were dried up, and beds of solid salt hundreds of feet in thickness were often the result. Under the superincumbent weight, the lower layers were compacted into "rock salt." It often happened, of course, that sand and other impurities would become mixed with the salt, and impart to it more or less color, such as various tints of brown, red, yellow, and green. At other times, the salt would escape contamination, and then we have it as colorless and transparent as glass. In fact, for heat rays it is more transparent than the clearest glass ever made or makable. When finely powdered, pure salt is as white as the beautiful snow.

Salt fuses at a red heat, and, at sufficiently high temperature, passes away in vapor. Common earthenware, exposed to this hot vapor of salt, condenses it and unites with it, thus acquiring what is well named a "salt-glaze." This glaze is fairly durable under proper care, but it cracks badly when exposed to high temperatures, as every housewife sadly knows.

A moderate amount of salt is useful for agricultural purposes, but an overdose will destroy vegetation. "And Abimilech assaulted the city . . . . and demolished it, so that he sowed it with salt," in order, say the commentators, to make the ground barren and good for nothing. Probably, it does not actively kill the plants, but only takes away the moisture from them and lets them die.

Salt will kill hens, especially chickens (we have never seen it tried on

wild fowl), not that it is really a poison, but because the foolish creatures never seem to understand when they have had enough. A growing chicken, weighing say a pound, will consume without any apparent scruple at one sitting, a hundred grains or more of salt, and then look quite offended if you attempt to reason or remonstrate with it, or "shoo" it. This quantity is about proportional to what a three-pound dose would be in the case of a full-grown man. If a man were to eat that much salt at one meal, he *ought* to die, and like Lot's wife be turned into a pillar of salt, as a warning of wisdom for others. So ought the chicken. The much-maligned ass is a paragon of wisdom in comparison with the average representative of the hen tribe. In fact, we know of nothing to be compared with a hen, in point of systematic idiocy, except, perhaps, some other hen.

Salt is not properly a poison, nor is it yet a true food; and still it is far more than a mere condiment. It does not, it is true, build up bone, or muscles, or tendons, or nerves; and nevertheless, either it, or some equivalent, is absolutely necessary for life, in the case of the higher animals at least. This certainly does seem strange; but there must be a reason for every fact, no matter how strange it may appear to be; now, the reason given by some physiologists in this matter is as follows: In the higher animals the blood consists, essentially, of two substances, called "globules" and "serum." The globules are microscopic parcles, disk-like in form, and of a deep-red color; the serum is a thin, yellowish liquid, in which the globules float, and to which they impart their own red color. Now, it is absolutely essential that the globules should always preserve their individual identity. Each of these has its allotted share in the task of carrying the proper food to every tissue of the body, and of bringing back the worn-out particles that have served their end and died, and which must be promptly rejected from the system. The globules may be likened to so many stokers, who carry fuel to the furnace and remove the ashes. But, if the globules be dissolved by the serum, they lose their individuality, and are no longer capable of performing their functions. Salt does, however, precisely hinder the serum from dissolving the globules, and therefore, unless there be a certain quantity of it (or of an equivalent) in solution in the blood, this dissolving effect will take place, the whole character of the blood will be changed, and the animal-machine will necessarily break down.

Nevertheless, there are certain facts which seem to be in contradiction with the original statement that salt is necessary at all. Homer was a poet, and therefore couldn't lie, and Homer says that there have been inland peoples who never saw the sea, and to whom salt was totally unknown. Sallust was a historian, and therefore shouldn't lie, and he says that the Numidian nomads never used salt with their food. The same is true of the Bedouins of Hadramant, even to the present day. It seems, also, that in some parts of America, as well as of India, the use of salt was first introduced by Europeans. How can these things be reconciled with what has been said above? Easily enough. Herbiferous animals find in the plants and herbs which they consume enough salt (it need not be

sodium chloride, *i.e.*, NaCl, for some other salts will do as well) to keep their blood in good working condition. But men who live by the chase, and who consequently live almost exclusively on the raw or roasted flesh and the blood, either of these animals or on that of the carnivorous animals that have eaten *them*, find sufficient salt, of one kind or another, in this savage fare to satisfy their needs. But the cultivated cereals and vegetables and the boiled meats, which form so large a part of the diet of civilized men, do not contain sufficient salt, of any kind, for the purpose mentioned above, and therefore a supplement of the real article is necessary. Even ancient Pistol, who had insulted the brave Welshman by bidding him "eat his leek," knew that leeks need salt. It seems, then, that the difficulty raised, a few lines back, has been fairly met and answered.

Sources of Salt, and its Manufacture.—As a laboratory-experiment, salt may be obtained by putting together, in the proportions mentioned above, the two elements, sodium and chlorine. It also appears, as a by-product, in the manufacture of certain other salts, as, for example, tooth-powder. Take 16 ounces of sodium carbonate, and 16¾ ounces of calcium chloride, and dissolve them separately in water, and mix the solutions together, and you will have 15 ounces of calcium carbonate, in a state of fine white powder, the basis of every honest tooth-powder, while there will remain, dissolved in the water, 17¾ ounces of pure salt, which can be recovered by filtering off the liquid and evaporating the water by heat. Neither of these methods, however, would do for the commercial manufacture of salt. In the first place, they would be enormously expensive, and, in the next place, you could hardly get the sodium, the chlorine, or the sodium carbonate, without first having the salt, for, the salt is, practically, the starting point from wihch to obtain sodium, and all, or nearly all, its compounds.

So we go back to dame Nature, who has kindly furnished us with a plentiful supply of salt. All we need is to lay hold on it and appropriate it to our uses. The waters of the ocean (there is but one ocean) contains enough salt for all our reasonable needs, and for a rich legacy unto our children for a long time to come. The quantity of salt in a given volume of sea-water varies somewhat for different places. On account of the more rapid evaporation, sea-water is salter in the torrid than in the frigid zone, and salter near the shores than on the surface of the open ocean. The same is true of land-locked seas, such as the Gulf of Mexico, and the Mediterranean; and, on account of the greater density, the salter water is nearer the bottom. The variation, the world over, is from a minimum of 2.9 per cent. to a maximum of 3.6 per cent. of the total weight of the water. Taking the average as 3.3 per cent., the total quantity of salt in the whole ocean has been calculated at more than 4,419,360 cubic miles. Now, the area of Africa is about 11,000,000 sqnare miles, and its mean elevation nearly 2000 feet above tide-level; this makes the volume of mud, rocks, plants, animals, men, women, and pickaninnies, above high tide, in round numbers, 4,166,000

cubic miles. Therefore, a continent the size of Africa could be built with the salt of the sea, and leave, over and above, for domestic uses more than 250,000 cubic miles, say 2½ quadrillions of tons.

As if this were not enough, we have salt lakes, salt springs, salt streams and rivers, in various parts of the world. The amouut and quality of the salt which they bear, depends upon local conditions, and varies greatly from place to place. In some places, these waters contain so many impurities that it is not worth the trouble to attempt to render them fit for use in food. In others, as at the Great Salt Lake, it is only necessary to boil them down and collect the residue.

Another source of salt, on a small scale, is the ashes of a few plants, in some countries. In central Africa, a man who knows how to extract a modicum of salt from the few plants which contain it, in an appreciable quantity, is looked upon as a great man, and is revered above his fellows. Aristotle, who was a philosopher, and therefore didn't lie, tells us that the Umbrians obtained their salt in this way, but we, who have been born in the lap of luxury, would find it hard to depend on it now. Men have fought over the possession of a handful of ashes which contained a little salt; and in inland countries, in ancient times, nations have warred with all the fierceness of savage warfare for the ownership of a muddy spring of brackish water.

Besides the sources already enumerated, we have still the solid crystallized salt known as "rock salt." It occurs in immense beds, as well as in smaller quantities, varying in extent from blocks of a few tons up to vast deposits of many miles in length and breadth, and several hundred feet in thickness. These deposits are to be found in nearly every part of the world, but they are very unevenly distributed. Norway, Denmark and Holland, are about the only countries in which no rock salt has been found. Nor has much been found in the United States, but the deficit is pretty well made up by salt lakes, and surface or underground springs. Perhaps, the most remarkable deposit of rock salt in the world, is that at Wieliczka, in Gallicia, a few miles from Cracow. This mine has been worked continuously for at least six hundred years. The portion already excavated is 2 miles long by 1 mile wide, and 1000 feet deep: but the bed is calculated to be, at least, 20 miles wide by 500 miles long and 1200 feet thick.

A few words on the different processes of manufacture will close this article. We shall make a start with sea-water, for, without doubt, it was from the ocean that salt was first obtained. In former times, practically, all that was used was got from this source, and the same is true of a large proportion of the salt of commerce even at the present day.

When we take a gallon of sea-water and boil it down to dryness, we obtain about 4½ ounces of solid residue. The following table gives the percentage of the different substances found in this solid residue, according to Dittmar. It is the result of 130 analyses of water procured by the dredging-ship "Challenger," from widely different parts of the ocean, and at all depths:

Sodium chloride (common salt),	77.758	
Magnesium chloride,	10.878	
Magnesium sulphate (Epsom salts),	4.737	
Calcium sulphate (plaster of Paris),	3.600	22.242
Potassium sulphate,	2.465	
Calcium carbonate (chalk),	0.345	
Magnesium bromide,	0.217	
Total,	100.000	

Besides these seven principal substances, there is a little iodine, but so little that it is not easy to detect it, much less to determine its amount; but, little as it is, it must be there, for certain sea-weeds, more skilful than the chemists, have no difficulty in extracting and appropriating it; but afterwards, the chemist meanly comes in and takes it for himself. Eighteen other substances have been proved to occur in sea-water, but none of them in what one would call "paying quantities." Among them are arsenic, lead, zinc, copper, aluminum, silver, and gold, all in less than homœopathic doses, and they are warranted, like the "stick in the porridge," to do neither good nor harm. We need not wonder that a little of almost everything is to be found in sea-water, since the rivers are continually carrying a little of almost everything down into that same sea.

The table shows that over 22 per cent. of the total solids is not salt at all, but rather an adulteration, and yet salt that contains even 3 per cent. of impurities is deemed unfit for domestic uses in our refined days. This is especially the case if the adulterating substance be magnesium chloride, which, by the table, is seen to be nearly 11 per cent. This compound is particularly objectionable, first, because it is very bitter, and secondly, because it is "deliquescent," that is, it absorbs moisture rapidly from the air, becomes wet, and even dissolves in the moisture it has absorbed. But, we do not give up sea-water for all that, because when the manufacture of salt is properly conducted, the greater part of all these impurities is removed. In the manufactured article, as put on the market, the proportion of magnesium chloride varies from .01 per cent., as in the case of St. Kitt's salt, to 1.58, as in the case of the salt manufactured in Brittany. Turk's Island salt, so well known in this country, has 0.14 per cent. of magnesium chloride. This is not excessive, but still it is enough to make the salt cake badly in the bags.

Salt is obtained from sea-water by evaporating the water; but as it would be altogether too expensive to do this by means of artificial heat, recourse is had to the heat of the sun, and consequently, it can be done to advantage only in warm climates. The general process is as follows:

"A large piece of land," says Mr. Lyte, "varying from one or two to several acres, barely above high-water mark, is levelled, and if necessary puddled with clay so as to prevent the water from percolating and sinking away. . . . . The prepared land is partitioned off into large basins, and others which get smaller and more shallow in proportion as they are intended to receive the water as it becomes more and more concentrated, just sufficient fall being allowed from one set of basins to the

other to cause the water to flow slowly through them. The flow is often assisted by pumping. The sea-salt thus made is collected into small heaps on the paths around the basins or the floors of the basins themselves, and here it undergoes a first partial purification, the more deliquescent salts (especially the magnesium chloride) being allowed to drain away. From these heaps it is collected into larger ones, where it drains further and is more purified. Here it is protected by thatch till required for sale."

Usiglio, who has given much attention to the manufacture of salt, supplies us with the following details: "The density of the water as it comes from the sea is 1.02, but, according as evaporation takes place, it grows denser. Between 1.05 and 1.1315, nearly all of the chalk is deposited. The calcium sulphate next crystallizes out, and in this condition is called gypsnm; it is practically all deposited by the time the density has reached 1.2646. In the meantime, that is, between the densities 1.218 and 1.2407, nearly all of the real article, salt, assumes the crystalline form; it is mixed, of course, with some magnesium sulphate and rather too much magnesium chloride, but such as it is, it is gathered up in heaps and allowed to purify itself, as stated above. The liquid which remains contains all the other substances, and is either thrown away, or kept for the sake of the bromine it holds in solution. If the deposition of the salt is allowed to go on too long, too much impurity will be deposited with the salt; if, on the other hand, the crystallization be stopped too soon, a large part of the salt will be lost in the liquid thrown away. Salt by this slow evaporation will be coarse-grained. This is an advantage when it is to be used in large quantities at a time, as in salting down whole barrels of meat, or when it gets in its best work by being dissolved quite slowly, as in refrigerating machines; but for table use we want just the opposite, viz., a little at a time, and to have it dissolve as rapidly as possible. The Chinese, it is said, keep their table salt in solution, in a cruet or bottle, and in this seem to have shown more sense than the benighted westerners. Our way is to have the salt in the state of fine powder. This may be done by dissolving the coarse salt again in water, and then evaporating by furious boiling; we get by this means pretty fine-grained crystals, but they are still distinctly visible as separate crystals, under a common pocket-lens. To get the real fine salt demanded by public opinion we must have recourse to grinding.

Salt may be manufactured from the water of salt springs just as it is from sea-water. The term, "salt springs," is used, in a wide sense, to mean not only natural springs but also "wells." These wells are bored on the Artesian plan, and whether the water rises to the surface of its own accord, or has to be pumped up, the upshot is the same. Most, if not all, of our American salt is from these wells or springs. A score or more of the States have salt springs; the principal ones are, we believe, in New York, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

The manufacture of salt from "rock salt" is conducted on two different plans, according to circumstances. It is sometimes obtained by a regular "mining" operation, just as in the case of silver or coal.

The blocks brought to the surface, if pure enough, are ground up and delivered to the trade. If not pure enough, they are dissolved and purified by crystallization. When, however, it would be too difficult and expensive to "mine" the salt, holes are bored and piped, and then water is pumped in, and when it has become saturated with salt, it is pumped out again, and treated in the same way as the water from the salt spring. It has been sometimes stated that there are no deposits of rock salt in the United States, but this assertion must surely be "taken with a grain of salt," for, if there were no salt beds down there, how could the springs and wells get their unfailing supply of salt? Moreover, the chemist of the New York Salt Works claims that in that State alone there is a bed of rock salt averaging 40 feet in thickness and extending over an area of at least 4000 square miles, "an inexhaustible supply for centuries to come."

Rock salt in the mines is usually imbedded in clay, and, if sufficient care be not taken, it will be badly mixed when it appears at the surface. In old times, men were not so squeamish as they are now about a little dirt, and the salt often contained a large dose of mud. Besides, when salt was far more valuable than it is now, serious adulteration was intentionally practiced, and thus, what was sold for salt was often more dirt than salt. For use, this mixture was stirred up with water, and whatever was dissolved out was used as salt, while the insoluble residue which was still wet with salt water was thrown on to the dunghill, there to be decomposed and serve as manure. When, however, all the salt had been dissolved out, the original mass which had been bought as salt had truly "lost its savor," and was then only fit to be "trodden under foot" on the highways.

We had verily intended to stop here, but for the sake of those numerous readers of the REVIEW who delight in statistics, we have concluded to insert just a few.

The total output of salt in the whole world at the present day, is, as far as can be ascertained, about 10,000,000 tons. Of this quantity, the empire of Great Britain furnishes 3,210,296 tons; Russia comes next, with 1,156,000 tons; the United States of America, 1,023,000 tons; Prussia, and the rest of Germany, 995,000 tons; France, 747,000 tons; the rest is divided among the small fry of the world. In this country, the amount per year for each individual is much more than in any other country in the world. It rises to the very high figure of 50 pounds; while in Great Britain it is 22, and in France only 15. Does it follow, that we are, therefore, "wiser" than other people? Or that, perhaps, we need more salt than other folks to keep us up to the standard? Any how, it follows, that we have to import over 500,000 tons annually in order to keep body and soul together; at a cost of probably more than $2,000,000. Perhaps our "Free Trade" or our "Protection" needs a little more tinkering.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

Book Notices.

PHILOSOPHIA LACENSIS SIVE SERIES INSTITUTIONUM PHILOSOPHIÆ SCHOLASTICÆ EDITA A PRESBYTERIS SOC. JESU, IN COLLEGIO QUONDAM B. MARIAE AD LACUM DISCIPLINAS PHILOSOPHICAS PROFESSIS: INSTITUTIONES THEODICÆÆ, SECUNDUM PRINCIPIA S. THOMÆ AQUINATIS AD USUM SCHOLASTICUM ACCOMODAVIT. *Jos. Hontheim, S. J.* Pp. x., 831. Price, $3,00. Herder: Friburgi et St. Louis, Mo. 1893.

This volume is the fourth part in order of publication of the advanced course of philosophy by Jesuits exiled from their former house of studies at Marien Laach. The Natural Philosophy by Fr. Pesch made its appearance in 1880, and was followed four years later by the first half of Fr. Meyer's work on Ethics. The second half of this work has not yet been published. The three monumental volumes on Logic by Fr. Pesch were given to the public from 1888 to 1890. Before us we have the section of the course on Natural Theology.

A surface skimming of this volume will not reveal as broad an erudition, as wide reaching reference to cognate literature, as is manifested in some of the preceding portions of the *Cursus Lacensis*, but careful reading will show equal profundity and even greater clearness, more directness of exposition, than are shown in its former companion volumes. Many-sidedness of view, thoroughness in analysis of their natural wealth of argument, fairness in presentation and completeness in the solution of difficulties, these are the traits which characterize all the hitherto published volumes of this course, and in none are they found more fully verified than in the masterly work before us. As an illustration of Fr. Hontheim's comprehensive grasp of his subject we may take his treatment of the proofs for the existence of God. To show his grouping of these proofs we may throw them into the following schema:

Arguments for God's existence are:

Metaphysical.	Cosmological = from the world as *Ens ab alio* to its First Efficient Cause, *ens a se*.
	Kinesiological = from changed to the Unchanged.
	Ideological = from the order of possibles to their ultimate basis in the Real.
	Henological = from the various degrees of beings to to the One Supreme.
Physical.	Teleological = from designs to the Designer.
	Entropological = from the conversion of Energy to its Author.
	Biological = from the existence of life to the Author of life.
	Thaumatological = from the existence of miracles to to their First Cause.
Moral.	Endæmonological = from man's natural desire of haniness to the Supreme God.
	Deontological = from the existence of moral law and obligation to their Principle.
	Ethnological = from the universal consent of mankind.

A little study of this schema convinces one that it is fairly exhaustive, embracing as it does at least implicitly whatever other proofs for the exist-

ence of God the human mind has been able to construct. Thus the Cosmological argument which concludes to God as First Efficient Cause, may easily be made to conclude to Him as Exemplary and Final Cause. So too the Biological argument includes the Psychological, *i.e.*, from the human soul to its Creator. The Deontological argument is also in principle the Sociological, which concludes from the nature of man as a social being to the existence of God as necessary for the existence and perdurance of society.

We have torn our scheme of the author's proofs from the midst of their environment. To measure their meaning and force they must be restored to their setting. Especially must the two antecedent chapters on the certitude of God's existence and on the preparation for the demonstrations, as well as the elaborate subsequent treatise on the difficulties against the proofs, be carefully studied. The reader has here a keen-sighted guide, one whose eye is trained not only to inspect deductively the contents of definitions but one familiar as well with facts of history and the phenomena of nature. This is particularly shown in the author's treatment of the Design argument, around which so much inflated controversy has gathered in late years. Traced from its origin in antiquity, through the writings of the Christian Fathers, the myriad facts which have been marshalled in its service are here drawn out disciplined by the rigid methods of modern physical science in every one of its departments; nor is any effort that skepticism has made to weaken the dialectical side or the scientific data of the argument left unprobed. Like praise must be accorded to Father Hontheim's treatment of Darwinism and materialism. On the whole, we have here a a work on natural theology which, for breadth, depth and clearness, has, we believe, no modern equal. It is to be regretted that the author did not perfect the value of his work by an analytical table of contents, as did his co-laborers. The indexes given are rather meagre for a work so large and profound.

ANGELUS DOMINI, with Legendary Lays and Poems in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary; together with introductory selections in prose. Compiled and edited by A Daughter of the Church. Illustrated. New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., Publishers. 1893.

This neat little volume contains selections in prose and verse from authors of widely different epochs, climes, and religious tenets, who have found in "our tainted nature's solitary boast" a common cause of heart-felt devotion and unstinted praise. Coming in such close proximity to Mr. Orby Shipley's *Carmina Mariana*, it emphasizes the lesson of Our Lady's sweet power in these latter days. The compiler, while not a Catholic, has, nevertheless a real and tender devotion to her theme. The "Angelic Salutation," recited by Catholics at morn and noon and eve, forms the Prologue to her work, and breathes over it a sweet benediction. The many illustrations are taken from works of art of classical painters, and are nearly all full-page. We are afraid the proof was somewhat hastily revised, as we have observed some few errors; *e.g.*, on page 139, where *revering* stands in place of *reversing*, and *stablest* in place of *stablish*. We congratulate the compiler on her beautiful work, and shall look for more of such volumes.

THE COMEDY OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM: in three acts. Edited by *A. F. Marshall, B.A.*, Oxon. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

This charming *jeu d'esprit* of our brilliant contributor is written in

Marshall's liveliest vein. It purports to describe the efforts of the two hundred sects of Anglicanism to compose their differences, with the usual result. Dante's description of the condition of affairs in the wranging republics of Mediæval Italy is tame when compared with the relative attitudes of the differing "wings" of Anglicanism, and there is little or no exaggeration in this "comedy"; witness the proceedings in last year's Congress.

AUS WELT UND KIRCHE. Bilder und Skizzen von Dr. *Franz Hettinger*. Third edition, augmented with sketches from Tyrol and Switzerland. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1893. 2 volumes. Price $4.20.

These two neat volumes, beautifully printed and bound, with 57 illustrations headed by a faithful portrait of the lamented author, form a noble literary monument to the memory of the great apologist of Christianity. The Wurzburg professor was not a mere devourer of books. These volumes prove him to have been a keen observer of men and nature, an "all-around" educated man, able to pass an intelligent opinion on political, artistic, architectural, scientific and historical, as well as theological subjects. His work is at once a guide-book, a diary, and an autobiography, almost superseding the necessity of any other life of the author.

MANUEL DU PRETRE AUX ETATS-UNIS: in English and French; containing Tables, Formulas, and short instructions in both languages. By *Louis de Goesbriand*, Bishop of Burlington, Vt. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet & Co. 1894. Price $1.00.

It would be difficult to condense so much useful material into so small a space as has been here accomplished by one of the most distinguished missionaries of our country. This unpretentious manual will be a godsend to many a poor missionary, especially to those who are laboring among the French-Americans.

AN EXAMINATION OF WEISMANNISM. By *George J. Romanes*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. 1893. Pp. ix., 221.

The genesis of Weismann's theories on Germ-plasm and Evolution up to date. A more extended notice of the work will be given in the July number of this REVIEW.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

CURSUS PHILOSOPHICUS IN USUM SCHOLARUM, AUCTORIBUS PLURIBUS PHILOSOPHIÆ PROFESSORIBUS IN COLLEGIIS EXÆTENSI ET STONYHURST, S. J. Logica, auctore *Carolo Frick, S. J.*, pp. viii., 296, price $1.20. Ontologia, auctore *Carolo Frick, S. J.*, pp. viii., 204 price $1.00. Philosophia Naturalis, auctore *Henrica Haan, S. J.*, pp. viii., 219, price $1.00. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1893-94.

ETUDE SUR LE GREC DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT: Le Verbe Syntaxe des Propositions Par *M. l'Abbé Joseph Viteau*. Paris: Emile Bouillon. 1893.

THE CONFESSOR AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART. From the French of *Rev. L. J. M. Cros, S. J.* Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

LET US GO TO THE HOLY TABLE. Translated from the French by *Rev. W. Whilty*. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1893.

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